

**HISTORY OF MANKIND
CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT**

**VOLUME II
THE ANCIENT WORLD**

HISTORY OF
MANKIND
CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC
DEVELOPMENT

VOLUME ~~II~~^{No}

THE ANCIENT
WORLD

PART ONE

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PART ONE

MANKind FROM ABOUT 1200 BC TO ABOUT 500 BC

CHAPTER I

THE CHIEF HISTORICAL EVENTS

MANY features of history can influence developments in thought, science, and culture, not only among individual peoples but over wide sections of humanity, sometimes even over the whole world. One group of people may be enabled to become leaders of progress; another may find its activities smothered or extinguished, and be obliged to yield its place to other groups. These processes often enlarge, restrict, or drastically modify the zones from which culture radiates and the exchanges between these zones; here a leap forward and there a leap back; or sometimes a people is driven by events into a dormant state which may be mortal but which could also be invigorating.²

It is enough to recall among such decisive events: wars with their outcomes; long fruitful times of peace; revolutions and their innovating force; migrations with the ethnic mixtures they bring; colonial undertakings; conquests by imperialist nations; the breakdown of powers once dominant; changes in homes or climates or natural environment, and thence altered conditions of production and economy; vicissitudes in state and society; the diffusion of new religious and moral concepts; and finally the spread of plagues and of the other agents by which populations are destroyed.

These considerations affect the plan of our work, which is divided into three parts, covering three successive periods. Each must be preceded by a broad survey of the main events which bear on the cultural and scientific development of the leading peoples, and of the others who came to some extent under their influence. In the subsequent chapters of each part, which are devoted to the separate aspects of human activity, attention will be paid to the connection between each aspect and the events previously surveyed. We shall of course expand our field of vision at the beginning and at the end. We shall recall some of the things said in Volume I about the events of earlier times; and when dealing with events at the end of our period we shall take account of some of the effects felt in the period of Volume III

I. THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE AEGEAN AND THE NEAR EAST

a. *The Decline of Empires in the Eastern Mediterranean. Migrations, the Foundation of New States*

The Hatti, after their victory over the state of Mitanni³ in 1365, substituted their own colonies for those settled by the Hurri in Syria and in

northern Palestine: this brought them into contact with the Egyptian possessions in southern Palestine. It also encouraged the Assyrians to free themselves from vassalage to Mitanni and to resume their expansionist tendencies. As a result the three major states, Hattic, Assyrian, and Egyptian, whose possessions now bordered on one another, had by the middle of the fourteenth century achieved a balance of power. They still often came to blows, but were normally able to carry on extensive exchange of ideas and commodities under peaceful conditions.

They constituted the three most active areas for the diffusion of ideas and commodities among their smaller neighbours. Chief among these were the Kassites (who had assimilated the composite civilization of Babylonia where they were still dominant), the small 'Minoan' states of Crete, and the 'Cycladic' communities in the Aegean islands. But the triad of dominant powers was gravely menaced. Threats gathered around them, and the most effective of these came from the hordes of new migrants who poured into their lands.

The warrior tribes, nomad and semi-nomad, scattered through the immense steppes of middle Eurasia, were perennially on the move. Their aims were various. They sought new pastures and new lands for temporary cultivation in a favourable climate; they wanted plunder; or they were escaping the attacks of hordes, more barbarous and more powerful, which pressed on their backs. In this way they had entered for some time on one of their most restless and dynamic phases. The groups who were already settled were pushed farther south or confined to narrow territories, or amalgamated with the migratory tribes. These migrations provoked a general confusion of peoples and there were further displacements for a long time to come.

Many of these migratory waves affected the so-called Indo-European peoples who, whatever their original racial elements, had lived for a considerable time in adjacent areas. They had adopted similar languages and allied civilizations.

The migrations of the Indo-Europeans who pressed into Italy and the westernmost areas of Europe, and of the group which took the eastern route as far as India, will be treated in their proper context. Let us here consider the complex middle migratory layer formed by the people of Greek, Macedonian, Thraco-Phrygian, and Illyrian dialects who drove in successive moves into the Balkans, Anatolia, and beyond.

This movement had begun in an epoch substantially farther back in time—probably already in the Copper Age or in the earliest Bronze Age—when the advance guards of the 'Hellenic' people had penetrated into the Greek peninsula. In historical times these were the Ionic-speaking inhabitants of Attica and Euboea, those behind them in Thessaly and Boeotia who used northern Aeolic dialects, and those Peloponnesians who expressed themselves in southern Aeolic or Arcadian.

These first groups of Greeks had now for a long time been fused with their indigenous predecessors, who probably belonged to the same Asian stock from which the contemporary inhabitants of the Aegean islands derived. These natives had continued to develop (partly through their own talents, and partly by direct or indirect contact with the people of Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt) those typical Bronze Age civilizations which, from their regional stamp, we call 'Minoan' when it is found in Crete, and 'Cycladic' in the island zones.

These civilizations were evolved in areas of the Hellenic peninsula nearest to the Aegean, or in those with most frequent contact with the Minoan and Cycladic lands. As a reflex from them, the Greeks had developed a civilization of their own which we normally call Mycenaean. It was above all an 'Aulic' (Palace) civilization, which expressed itself in the palaces and tombs of sovereigns from the sixteenth century onward. From several angles it fulfilled needs, tastes, and inspirations all its own, although in other respects it reflected pre-existing local usages.

But these two parallel and related cultural developments, Minoan and Greek (partly spontaneous and partly reflected), were complicated by the arrival of new waves of Greek stock who spoke Achaeo-Doric dialects and had different customs. These had up till then remained farther back along the migration route. Their slow displacement can be dated as beginning at the latest from the sixteenth century, and was roughly contemporary with the settlement of the Macedonians in the sites they possessed in historical times, and with the establishment of the Thracians farther to the east and north-east. The latter were in their turn pushed by the Illyrians, part of whom were advancing towards the south-west.

From a push of this kind a section of the Thracians crossed the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, and occupied vast tracts of western and central Anatolia. They merged with the natives of other races and bred new hybrid peoples of mixed language. The results were the Phrygians, Mysians, Bithynians, Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians, whose names do not appear in Hittite texts of earlier centuries.⁴

Ancient learned tradition distinguished the Achaeans from the Dorians, making the former the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the Peloponnese. But there is decisive evidence to the contrary.^{5,5a} All the people who, in fully historical times, were still known as Achaeans spoke Doric dialects, and not pre-Doric or Arcadian; moreover the name of 'Dorians'—used first by the colonists of Asia Minor—was gradually adopted in Crete, the Peloponnese, and north-eastern Greece, by those who earlier were called Achaeans, while the remainder, continuing to use Doric dialects, preserved the old name of Achaeans. The fact is that the name 'Achaeans' originally meant all Greeks irrespective of their dialect, and therefore irrespective of the invading movement to which they belonged: the names 'Ionian', 'Aeolian', and 'Dorian' grew up later, and each of these bore a definite relation to the

dialect in question. If we use the terms 'Achaeo-Ionians', 'Achaeo-Aeolians', and 'Achaeo-Dorians' when speaking of these peoples' migrations, we are doing so for the sake of clarity, and with deliberate anticipation of later times. -

Moving then from north-western Greece the Achaeo-Dorians followed two directions. One moved to the east until they eventually came out at the Malian Gulf, occupying Achaean Phthiotis and the district subsequently known as Doris. They split the originally compact northern Aeolic unit into two segments—Thessalians and Boeotians—and shut the Ionians into the confines of Attica. The other part went towards the south-east, penetrated by the isthmus into the Peloponnese, and there spread out, in a horse-shoe movement, to the south towards Argolis and Laconia (where they called themselves Dorians), and to the west towards Achaea and Elis. Later on, in the seventh century, they contained and limited the southern Aeolians to Arcadia alone.

The two successive penetrations began, it appears, in the fifteenth century, as is shown by adequately clear archaeological evidence. They developed by stages in the centuries which followed. Naturally these Achaeo-Dorians amalgamated more or less completely with the other Greek people of Aeolic dialect whom they found in the new territories. They even absorbed and diffused the Mycenaean civilization which for almost two centuries had been flourishing there, especially in the east.

But the two Achaeo-Dorian occupations provoked in their turn other displacements. One part of the northern Aeolians (who had once lived between Thessaly and Boeotia) moved to Lesbos and the coast of the Troad, creating the so-called Aeolian colonies for which the earliest evidence derives from the destruction of 'Stratum VIIA' of the Ilium excavations.⁶ Parts of the Ionians went towards the Cyclades and the coasts of Asiatic Ionia, a fact which explains the evidence from the excavations of Mycenaean Miletus. Some of the Arcadians moved to Crete and the southern coasts of Asia Minor, as far as Pamphylia and Cyprus.

These displacements, in their early days, were marked by new constructional and artistic systems of a Graeco-Mycenaean type which replaced those of Minoan, Cycladic, Trojan and Anatolian origin in Crete, Melos, Troy, Miletus, and even on the Syrian shores at Ugarit and Alalak-Al Mina. They seem also to have provoked the exodus of a part of the pre-Greek population of Crete, who went to settle in southern Syria and so created the Philistines—who gave the country its name of Palestine.

But the Achaeo-Dorian migration was not yet exhausted. After having filled Argolis and Laconia to overflowing some invaders took to the sea towards the islands and coasts of Asia, especially the regions already occupied by the emigrants from Arcadia. This Achaeo-Dorian element was not numerous enough to modify the kinds of Greek civilization which were already dominant in Aeolis and Ionia, but in more southerly areas it gained

supremacy. As a result the Arcadian colonists succeeded in preserving their identity through their dialect only in the more distant lands of Pamphylia and Cyprus. The Achaeo-Dorians, who planted themselves in Crete, Rhodes, Caria, and Lycia, became, as we shall show, one of the most dynamic and active races in the eastern Mediterranean zone in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC.

Meanwhile, during the thirteenth century, these migrations of new peoples, Thracian and Hellenic, into Anatolia, were a decisive factor in accelerating the decline in Hattic power. It was already undermined by rebellious subjects aiming at independence and by continuous struggles with the Kaskeans on the southern coasts of the Black Sea. But what really proved ruinous was the barrier formed towards the Aegean by the Phrygians and other kindred peoples, who came from the Balkans and took part about 1250 in the anti-Hittite coalition of Assuwa (the Dardani, Mysi, and Lyki are explicitly mentioned in this connection). Greek peoples therefore were planted in increasing masses on the Anatolian coasts and the neighbouring islands; a Graeco-Phrygian-Microasiatic belt, with a new common cultural orientation, isolated the western Hittite dominions and the Mesopotamian hinterland from the Aegean. To the south, from 1350 to 1225, the power of the Achaean Greeks (the Ahhiyava of Hittite documents), short-lived though it was, seized the coast from Caria to Cilicia and interrupted Hittite communications with Cyprus. In northern Syria the situation was aggravated by Graeco-Mycenaean outposts, like that at Ugarit (Ras Shamrah), and by the settlement of Greek people like the Danaoi. Ugarit can be shown from excavations to have existed in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, but to have been destroyed shortly afterwards. Danuna appear in fourteenth-century texts of Amarna, and Din'n (or Denyen) among the raiders repelled from Egypt about 1200. It is tempting to identify both these with the Danaoi, and to seek confirmation from the name 'Dananim' found on an eighth-century inscription from Karatepe in Cilicia, where traces of the wanderers of the earlier period are not surprising.⁷

The Hittite empire was soon to be catastrophically and utterly dismembered. The only survivors for any length of time were some of the so-called neo-Hittite settlements (which had ousted those of the Mitanni in northern Syria). There arose from this a completely new order, and perhaps also cultural barbarization, through the collapse of the old areas of diffusion and the rise of new ones. These events are known too superficially, but they perhaps explain not a few of the early exchanges of ideas and concepts between the Greek and Anatolian peoples, and the indirect cultural borrowings by Hellas from the Orient.

The Hittite catastrophe and the Phrygian-Greek immigrations then provoked a state of social and political chaos: a favourable background for a complex series of daring exploits and temporary coalitions, consisting of armed bands, pirates, and sometimes a mass of immigrants (with waggons,

women, and children), who swarmed over the Middle East. Of the two surviving great powers, Egypt was placed in a state of emergency, and Assyria had its western possessions reduced.

Moreover with the dismemberment of the Hittite empire, Anatolia proper remained divided into many small states. Of these not a few had already been part of the Hittite dominions or had lived in its shadow; others were of new creation, formed by the new Phrygian-speaking migrants, who became more or less closely linked with the old population.

One of the most important states was the Phrygian, which derived, as far as one can tell, from the fusion of the Ascani, a pre-Indo-European people, with the new Indo-European arrivals (the Brygians). Its political centre was first at Gordium in the Sangarios valley, and then at Nakolea; and the state extended gradually as far as the Halys on the east and the Aegean on the west. Greek tradition speaks of their maritime supremacy (thalassocracy) in the ninth century. In all probability the Troad also lived for some time in the orbit of the Phrygian state. After the fall of Hittite rule and before the Graeco-Aeolian colonization, certain small independent states existed there; among them were Troy and the Dardanians—recorded in the *Iliad* but before that in the Egyptian documents of Ramses II, who defeated 'the Peoples of the Sea', the invaders of Egypt. Their name, identical with that of the Dardani of Thrace, suggests a fusion of pre-Indo-European and Indo-European peoples.

Greek colonization, and the reaction of the natives to it, tended now⁸ to reduce the area of the Phrygian kingdom, especially in the west. It finally collapsed, however, through invasions at the hands of the Cimmerians, which began soon after 700 and resulted in the partial occupation of the country throughout that century. This tribe came from present-day south Russia (compare the name of the Crimean peninsula); they were probably Indo-European nomads of an Indo-Iranian type.⁹

A second state of remarkable importance in post-Hittite western Anatolia was that of Lydia, which had Sardis as its capital. They too, to judge from their language, appear to derive from a fusion between indigenous Asiatic peoples (the Macones of Homer) and Indo-European migrants. Herodotus speaks of an earlier dynasty of theirs, the Heracleidai, lasting five centuries; followed by a new dynasty of Mermnadai, starting with Gyges about 685. In these centuries, in all probability, Lydia lived in the orbit of the Phrygian empire.

During the reign of Gyges, the Cimmerians attacked Lydia too, and to resist them Gyges allied himself with the Assyrians, and submitted to their hegemony. On the other hand he had already begun to extend his own power over the Greek colonies of the Asiatic coasts of the Aegean, though at the same time he encouraged Hellenic culture in his own land. The same policy, struggle against the Cimmerians, expansion to the detriment of the Greek colonies (who, however, drew great economic advantages from the extension

of their trade in Anatolia), and assimilation of Greek civilization, was followed by Gyges' successors: among them Ardys took Priene; Alyattes occupied Clazomenai and Smyrna, though he failed to occupy Miletus. Alyattes fought also against the Median king Cyaxares, and extended his power in Anatolia: in 585 he successfully fixed the limit of his influence at the river Halys; and about 590 he had decisively driven out the Cimmerians, and occupied the central zone of Phrygia. His successor Croesus inherited an empire which included all Asia Minor west of the Halys, except Lycia, Caria, Cilicia, and the Greek city of Miletus. He succeeded also in taking and depopulating Ephesus; but he then clashed with the Persian king Cyrus who besieged him at Sardis and took him prisoner, and from then on Lydia became a Persian possession (546).

Egypt. We said above that the fall of the Hittite empire encouraged a series of expeditions by armed bands in search of booty and conquest. Egypt had been fiercely attacked by such bands in the reign of the Pharaohs Merneptah (about 1234-1220) and Ramses III (c.1195-1165). On the first occasion¹⁰ the main attack was led from the north-west by the Libyan Tehenu, prompted by an expansionist movement which was exciting the Hamitic tribes of the semi-desert region of Cyrenaica. The second invasion came from the north-east, from southern Syria. Among the aggressors at the time of Merneptah we notice the Agaiwasha, that is to say the Achaeans; the Lukku or Lycians; the Tursha, the Sherdana, and the Shekelesha, who can perhaps be connected with the inhabitants of the region Tyrrha (or Tarsos or Tarnisa) in Lydia, and with those of Sardis and Sagalassus respectively. Among the aggressors of Ramses III we find the Danuna (Danaoi), the Peleset (Philistines), the Thekel (from Syrian Dor according to Wen Amon's report), the Washasha, and again the Shekelesha. Ramses III succeeded in halting the immigration and preventing these foreigners from settling in Egypt in mass, but he could not hold back the Libyan hordes. In the course of time all the Syrian dominions of the Nile kingdom were lost, and were settled by the new Semitic invasions (see pp. 19 ff.). They erected a barrier against cultural exchanges between Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, which lasted for more than two centuries. At the same time the established relations between Egypt and the Aegean world were coming to an end.

Here it is worth glancing at such developments in Egypt, down to the sixth century BC, as are relevant to our survey. Under the last Ramsids of the Twentieth Dynasty (1165-1085) life in Egypt degenerated; and trouble was also caused by continual disturbances of public order, by the feudal claims made by the Libyan governors of the 'nomes', and by political encroachment from the priestly colleges. With the Twenty-first Dynasty Egypt split into two states; one with a usurping Pharaoh at Tanis, the other with the priests of Ammon at Thebes. Then, in the course of the Twenty-second Dynasty (about 935 onwards), complete dynastic power passed to a

Libyan chief, Sheshonk (935-918), who placed the capital at Bubastis, and succeeded for a time in reuniting the country. This king profited from the quarrels between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and managed to set foot once more in Palestine, where after taking Ugarit and Byblos he sacked Jerusalem. But his policy of expansion was soon abandoned by later Libyan dynasts of the Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth Dynasties, because of dissension with the clergy, and rivalry from the indigenous Twenty-third Dynasty, which established itself at Tanis about 800. Tefnakht, a sovereign of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, succeeded in seizing power (720 BC), but he found himself faced by a rival dynasty, the Libyo-Ethiopian Twenty-fifth. The latter, first installed at Napata, occupied Ethiopia, and then by various operations in Lower Egypt ended by reuniting the whole country (about 715), with signal effect on its cultural character. Soon afterwards these Ethiopian Pharaohs were tempted to check the Assyrian advance in Syria; but instead the Assyrian kings penetrated into Egypt; Esarhaddon took Memphis in 670, and Ashur-banipal in 667 and 663 pushed as far as Thebes, and forced the Ethiopian Pharaohs back to Nubia. Egypt then became an Assyrian province, and this encouraged direct cultural relations between the two countries. Meanwhile the decline of pharaonic power permitted grave social upheavals.

Not long afterwards the Assyrian troops, who were needed in the fight against Babylonia, were withdrawn, and thus Psamtik I (663-609), who governed Egypt on behalf of Ashur-banipal, was able to declare his independence and to found the Saite dynasty (the Twenty-sixth, 663-525). The dynasty created a strong fleet and developed a policy of expansion, not only towards Nubia, but also in Syria, and brought on the Saites frequent counter-attacks from Babylonia. To meet them they made use of mercenaries, particularly Greeks; the Greeks were also allowed to open up iron mines and to station trading posts in Egypt.¹¹ This was of fundamental importance in bringing about the resumption of direct cultural exchanges between Egyptians and the Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries.

In the reign of the Pharaoh Amasis in 567 the Saite dynasts suffered their last severe rebuff from the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar. Yet they then decided to support these same Babylonians against the conquering Persians. But they, like their allies, were overthrown by Cambyses in 525. Egypt then became, for about two centuries, a satrapy of the Persian kings, and this marked a decisive turning point in the development of cultural relations between the countries of the Middle East.

The Assyrian Empire. While Egypt gradually lost its power and then also its liberty, the Assyrian empire continued to pass through alternating periods of growth and stagnation. In an early period, lasting a century and a half (1365-1207), it had profited successfully from the fall of Mitanni and the progressive decline of the Hittites. Next, with sweeping expansionist vigour the Assyrians first occupied northern Mesopotamia, which had once belonged

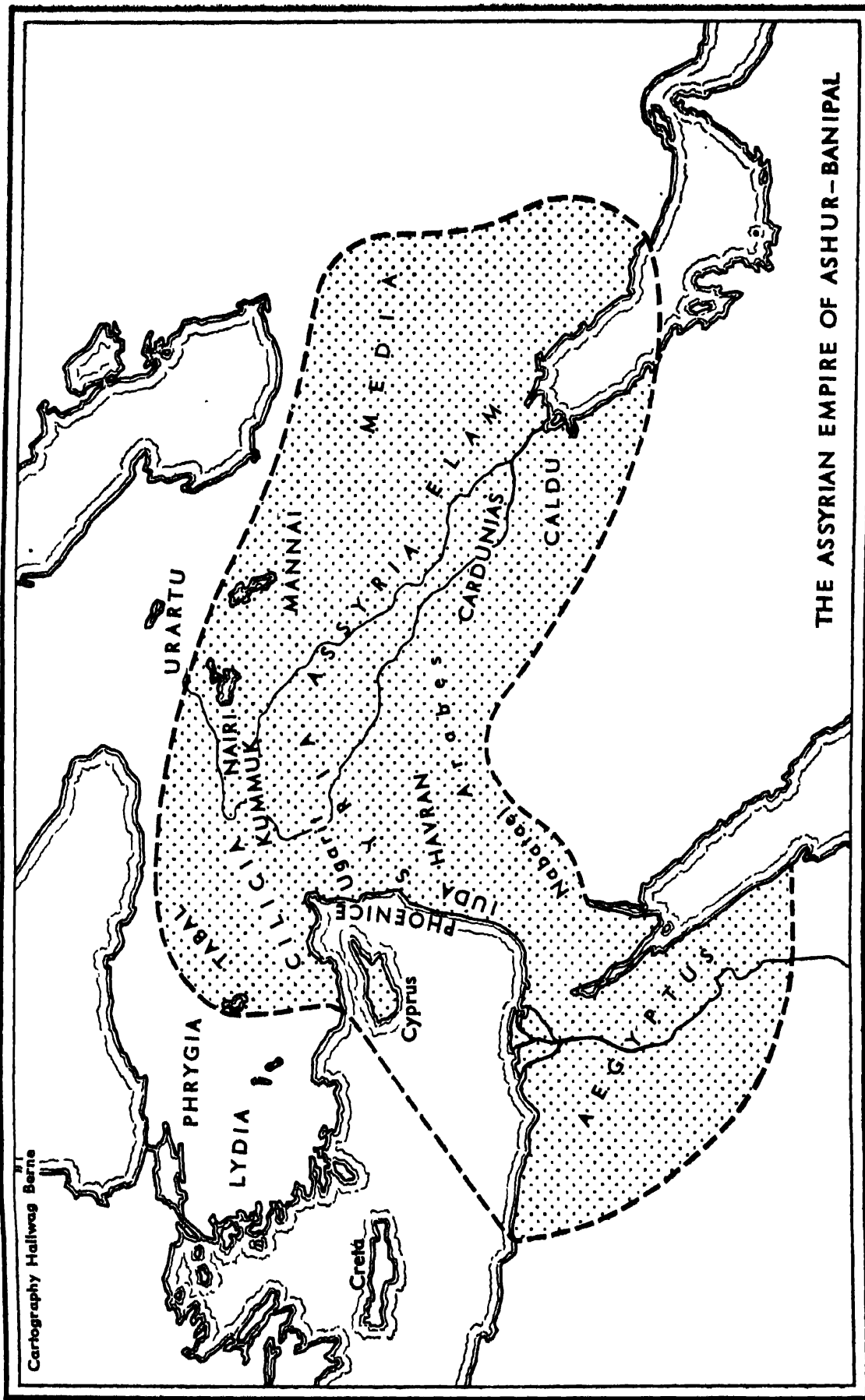
to Mitanni; and then, under Tukulti Nimurta I (1234-1207), confronted the Hittites at Carchemish, the Nairi near Lake Van, and beyond them the Gutti. In the south they defeated the Babylonian Kassites and occupied their territory.

For the cultural growth of the East, the result, particularly of the last conquests, was remarkable. Although in many important fields the new rulers¹² let themselves be absorbed by the earlier Babylonian civilization (diplomatic language, literary works, religious ideas, etc.), all the same they, too, left a clear imprint. They spread certain national cults, together with new legal, artistic, and military ideas; and they introduced a unique political organization with a feudal basis.

But towards the end of the thirteenth century, after the violent death of Tukulti Nimurta (1207), Assyrian power contracted on itself over nearly a hundred years. It lost its Syrian dominions; and large parts of the East were occupied by the Elamites, who had come down from their crags in the Iranian mountains and at one time, in 1171, took Babylonia from the Kassites.

Elamite rule was brief and was brought to an end by a simultaneous counter-attack from Babylonian elements (under the Isin dynasty, whose most famous king was Nebuchadnezzar I), and from the Assyrians under a new leader, Tiglath-Pileser I (1112-1074).¹³ The latter also defeated the Nairi and the Muska, established his rule over the peoples of Anatolia and Syria as far as the Mediterranean, and several times defeated the Babylonians. After him there followed a second period of stagnation in Assyria, lasting from 1074-909, which was mostly caused by new Semitic movements, especially those of the Arameans. Once again the Assyrians lost all the conquests they had made, and found themselves in possession only of their original lands. Next came a new revival with Adad Nirari II (909-889), Ashur-nasirpal II (883-859), and Shalmaneser III (859-824). These kings offered opposition to Urartu in the north, recovered the dominions in Syria, and defeated the Arameans of Damascus and the Hebrews in Israel. They made Tyre and Sidon subject, and also occupied Babylonia down to the Persian Gulf.

There followed a new, though broken, period of decadence (824-809: 782-745). This was due to regional separatism, to struggles with Urartu and the Medes, who were now living in the mountains to the east of Mesopotamia, and to the political and cultural ascendancy of Babylonia. But there now took place the last revival of Assyrian imperialism (745-630 or 612), begun by the victories of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727) over the Amorites, Elamites, Urartu, and Babylonians. His work was continued by Shalmaneser V and by Sargon II (721-705), who began the struggle with the Pharaohs of Lower Egypt for the possession of the Syrian zone. In two battles (722-711) they overcame the hostile coalition and transplanted the conquered people to Assyria. At the same time they withstood the Chaldeans of Babylonia and

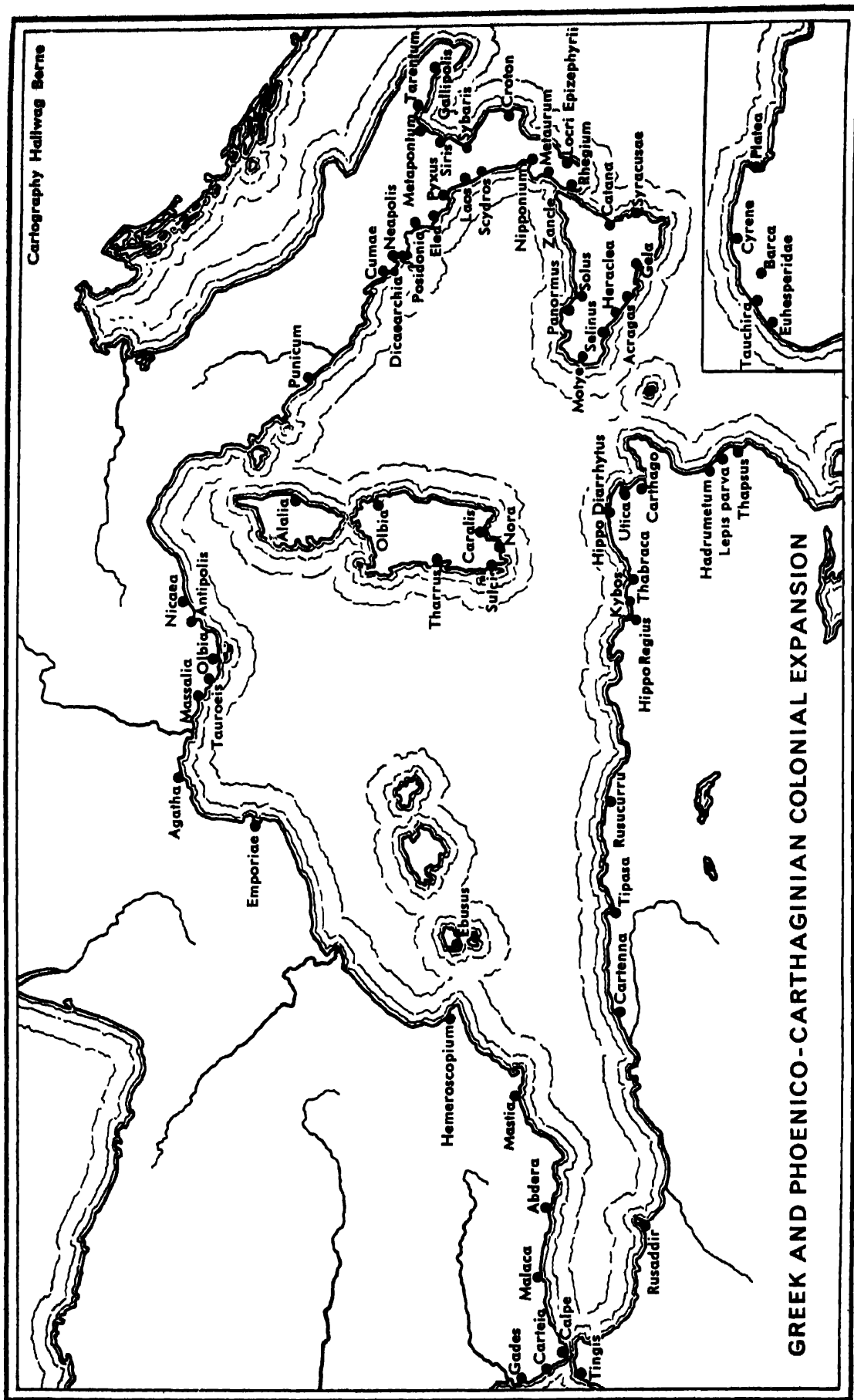


MAP I

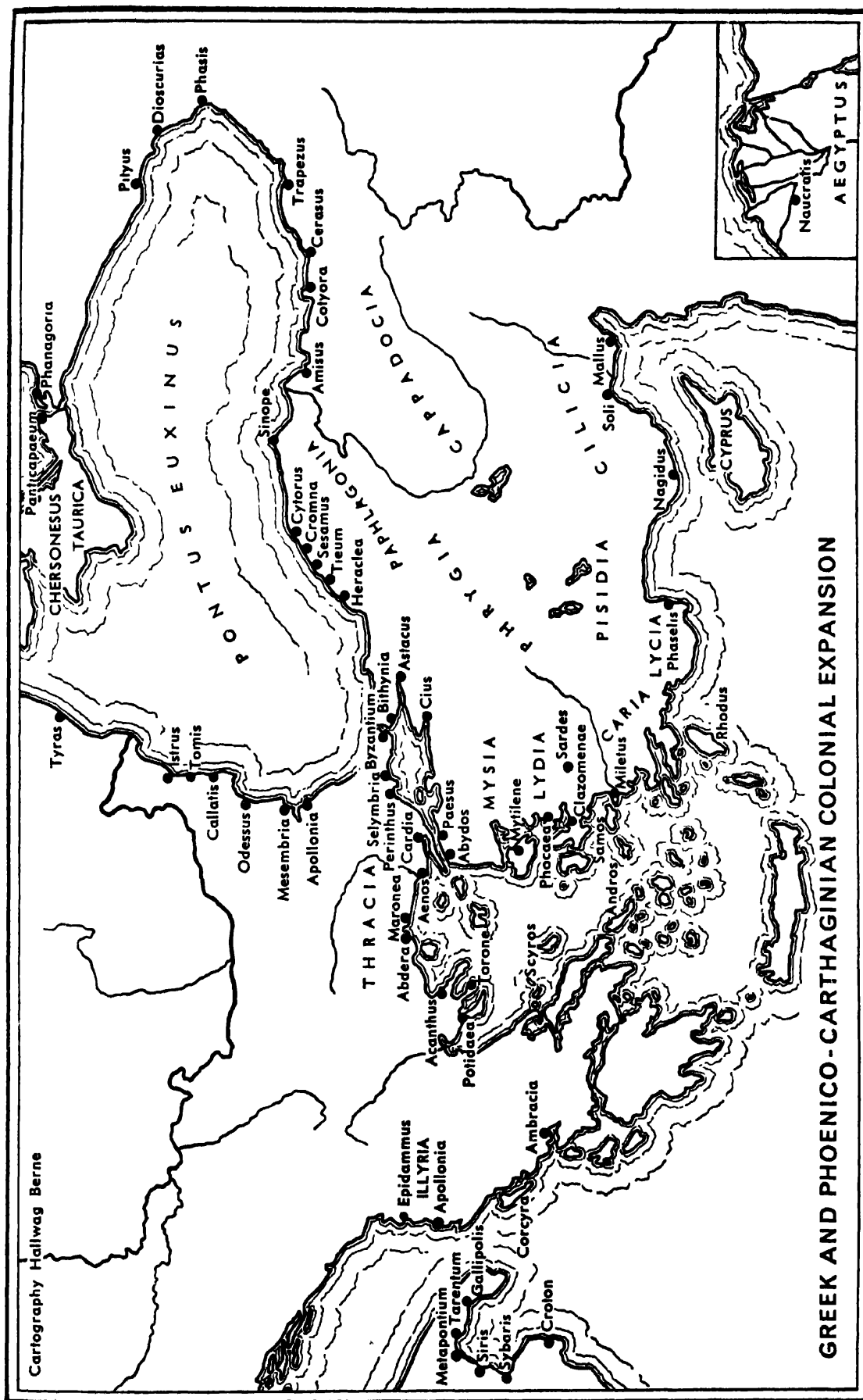
the Elamites. Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (705-681), in his turn defeated a coalition of Chaldeans, Elamites, Sidonians, and Egyptians, destroyed Babylon, and deported 200,000 Hebrews. The struggle was continued by Esarhaddon and by Ashur-banipal (669-630), this last being the king who conquered the Egyptians in 667 and 663. (Map I.)

But at this point the Assyrians, though they allied themselves with the Pharaoh Psamtik I, were not able to withstand the Chaldeans, who were supported by the Medes and used the Cimmerian hordes and wandering Scyths as auxiliary forces. In 612 Nineveh fell, and in 603 Assyrian resistance to the Babylonians came to an end. They were worn out by their wars, and their numbers were too small and insignificant in comparison with the subject and displaced peoples living in their homelands; their forces were scattered too thinly to defend their vast possessions and by this time had become mere raiding hordes; and their decline also owed something to the incompetence of their last kings. Nevertheless, for cultural history, the importance of the Assyrian empire, even in its last phase, is confirmed by its monuments, and by the 22,000 tablets from Ashur-banipal's library, which contain writings on history, astrology, astronomy, and mathematics, as well as texts of an administrative nature.

Phoenician Colonization. Historical events and cultural development in the areas of Syria and Palestine were determined largely by the geographical position of the country, lying at the crossing of the commercial highways which allowed communication between the powers of the East and at the point at which these highways gave access to the sea. Another factor was the characteristic bent of the Semitic and pre-Semitic mind. Yet a third arose from the fluctuations in the degree of freedom these lands and peoples could enjoy during the many turns of fortune which affected the imperial powers around them. The conflicts of the great powers before the beginning of our period were often fought out in just those areas where their cultural influences overlapped and their spheres of political action met. In these periods the tiny countries and city-states in the Canaanite-Phoenician district (Acco, Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, Byblos, Ugarit, and so on), and also in the Amorite district farther inland (Aleppo, Qatna), had to get on as best they might by manœuvring between the more powerful contestants or by putting themselves at the service of one of them. In this way they came profoundly under the influence both of Mesopotamian and of Anatolian and Egyptian civilization, all of them uniting with the indigenous elements to form in these areas a cultural mixture which was markedly complex. But already in the fourteenth century, as can be seen from the Tell el Amarna records, they had to take advantage of the first symptoms of Egyptian inactivity to assume importance in their own right. Then followed the upheavals caused by the migrations of the 'Peoples of the Sea' and the renewal of more direct contacts with the Mycenaeans, who made settlements as far



MAP II a



GREEK AND PHOENICIAN-CARTHAGINIAN COLONIAL EXPANSION

MAP II b

as Ugarit, and with the Philistines, who arrived from Minoan Crete. From these events they saw how to derive greater facilities for developing their trade, their economy, and their characteristic form of culture. This can be seen, for example, in the new system of alphabetic writing, which in the first instance found expression in the semi-cuneiform characters at Ugarit; it is seen also in the literary output of the same period. To this epoch can undoubtedly be assigned the first direct contacts between the Greeks and the peoples of Canaan, brought about by the actual presence of the former on the Phoenician coasts.

The life of Canaan could now be carried on with increased vigour during the several periods of Assyrian stagnation (1207-1112; 1074-909; 824-809; 782-745): and these periods coincided with those in which Egypt suffered its greatest decline and disintegration. The Phoenician sailors and traders now coasted along the lands of north Africa and to Sardinia: this southern Mediterranean route was much easier for them than that in the north, where conflicts would have arisen with the Greeks who dominated the coasts of Anatolia and Europe. They started daring enterprises of mining, fishing, trade, and piracy on the sea, which were the prelude to settlements, first of trading posts and later of real colonies, in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (to use the modern names). These appeared even on the Atlantic coast to the north and south of the Straits of Gibraltar in the Spanish Mediterranean, and as far as Sardinia and the Balearic Islands. (Map IIa.)

However, the first direct contact between Greek and Phoenician traders was not generally due to Phoenician penetration into Greek waters, but to the trading operations of the Greek colonists, which took them into the Phoenician sea, especially round Cyprus, and on to the Syrian coast at their colony of Ugarit. The earliest part of the *Iliad* gives us a picture of contacts made in this manner: and it is borne out by 'Thessalian' pottery at Abu Howan, from the last decades of the ninth century, before this place was destroyed by the action of the Pharaoh Sheshonk. Moreover the use of the alphabet, which passed to Crete and the neighbouring islands during the course of the ninth century, was probably introduced by Greek merchants who used the Phoenician and Syrian ports.

Only from the middle of the eighth century do we have certain evidence of Phoenicians trading in the Aegean.¹⁴ There is the episode of *Odyssey*, XV, 403 ff. (the kidnapping of Eumaeus by Phoenician sailors), which the earlier poets placed in Delos; there are the many imported Phoenician objects found in Greece—in Crete, Athens, Olympia, and Rheneia; and there are the records of Phoenician merchants in Lemnos (*Iliad*, XXIII, 744; cf. VII, 467 ff.), where the cult of the Kabeiroi owes its Phoenician features to this trade.

So, step by step through the centuries, the Phoenicians took every opportunity to develop trade and also colonization in the southern and extreme

western Mediterranean. This process was of the greatest importance on account of the imports—foodstuffs and above all metals—brought from the West to the East, against the export of manufactured goods which the Phoenicians had invented or copied. Equally significant was the penetration of ideas and techniques of Middle Eastern origin into a part of the West.

This flow of trade between the Phoenician mother country and its colonies could not yet proceed without disturbance, especially in the periods in which the mother country came under the dominion of one of the great neighbouring powers and lost the unfettered control of its ports and of its ships. Even at those periods, however, commercial activity must often have been maintained, in order to satisfy the interests and needs of the overlords. That explains the continuous prosperity of the Phoenician cities, which is attested by archaeology and by tradition, especially from the twelfth to the eighth centuries; this particularly affected Sidon, and later Tyre. The periods of Assyrian expansionism, therefore, brought difficulties, but not insuperable ones, for Phoenicia's trade and its relations with its colonies. But a much graver catastrophe fell on these people when the Chaldean empire, having beaten the Assyrians, wanted to punish the allies who had assisted them: Egyptians, Syrians, and Palestinians. Tyre was then subjected by Nebuchadnezzar II in 571. The loss of sovereignty of this large metropolis, to which all the colonies had been linked, severed the relations, the mutual assistance, and the economic understanding between the colonies and the Phoenician cities. These relations had, however, already become difficult in recent years; for from the seventh century onwards the Greek colonies established in Cyrenaica formed a barrier along their lines of communication. Now however the Phoenician system, menaced previously by the Greek colonial world, fell into a state of complete collapse and dissolution. We shall explain later how one of their colonies, Carthage, which had already made itself leader and metropolis of its sister cities, succeeded in imposing a limit upon Greek growth. (Map IIb.)

Aramean Migrations. Reasons similar to those affecting the Phoenicians explain the alternations in fortune of the Aramean and Hebrew elements in Syria. The determining factor was the degree of pressure brought to bear on them by neighbouring powers.

The Arameans were semi-nomadic raiders, who had already for centuries been careering round northern Syria and in upper Mesopotamia. They appear first as participants in the actions of an alliance called Akhlâmu, directed against the Assyrians at the end of the twelfth century. Next they are found as prime movers in similar activity during the second Assyrian 'stagnation' (1074-909), for which indeed they had initially been responsible when they created a number of small new states. Some of these, with capitals at Til Barsip, at Guzana (Tell Halaf), etc., emerged in the middle basin of the Euphrates; others on the lower Tigris as far as Babylonia, where for a time (c.1083) the throne was occupied by an Aramean prince named Adad-

apal-iddiu; a third group is found on the Persian Gulf, where the tribe of the Kaldu (Chaldeans) appears; and lastly a whole series of such people arrived in northern Syria, behind the Phoenician country from the slopes of the Taurus to the boundaries of the Hebrews (Zincirli, Arpad, Aleppo, Hamath, Soba, and Damascus).

The recovery of Assyrian power (909–858) was naturally marked by a progressive weakening of these Aramean states, and one by one they were brought into subjection: those in the Mesopotamian zone in the first half of the twelfth century, and towards the middle of the century those of Syria. Reviving for a while during the new period of Assyrian stagnation (824–809), the western Aramean states, especially those in the Damascus zone, were again broken shortly afterwards, when Damascus submitted to Adad Nirari III (809–782). They re-emerged during the other brief period of stagnation (782–745), but again they were gradually subdued—Arpad (743), Sam'al (735), Damascus (732), and Hamath—so that all northern Syria, including the neo-Hittite survival at Carchemish, became an Assyrian possession (719). The importance of these Arameans for the cultural evolution of the Middle East was very marked, both for what they drew and for what they gave. In fact, the extension of the Aramean states from Syria to the Persian Gulf, and their repeated conquests by the Assyrians, were the fundamental reason why in all fields of culture (religion, art, science, etc.) they absorbed existing ingredients—Canaanite, Egyptian, Mitannic, Hittite, Assyrian, Accadian, Mesopotamian. On the other hand, by their ubiquity, and by the importance assumed by their Chaldean sub-group, they succeeded in introducing in all the lands of the Middle East new elements of uniformity, of which the most important was the use of Aramaic as the diplomatic and literary language. After they had adopted the Phoenician alphabet, this language became easier to write and was, therefore, more generally used.

The Hebraic States. According to biblical tradition, the Hebrew people, before their final settlement in Palestine, travelled from one home to another. From the land of Ur they made their way to that of Chera or Harran: their route must have lain between Babylonia and Syria. Next they arrived in Canaan (hence the affinity between the Hebrew and Phoenician languages), and they then moved into the valley of the Nile (where they perhaps took part in the Hyksos invasions). In the end, led by Moses and later by Joshua, they settled once for all in the Jordan valley, the 'Promised Land' given by their own God to his 'chosen people'. The *terminus post quem* of this return emerges on the one hand from the Tell el Amarna texts of 1380–1350 BC which relate attacks by Khabiru nomads on Jerusalem, then still an Egyptian possession;¹⁵ and on the other hand from the same texts of c. 1230, recording victories of Pharaoh Merneptah over Canaan, Ascalon, Gezer, and Yanuam, and also over Israel. By the later date, then, the final settlement of the Israelites had probably taken place.

All this history explains why Hebrew civilization presents a composite characteristic from the earliest times. That is the impression given, for example, if Sumerian, Accadian, and Hittite stories are compared with those told in Genesis: it is the impression derived from legal concepts, from the contrast between the characteristic Hebrew monotheism and the continuous infiltrations of polytheism, and from the designs found in Hebrew architecture, carving, and so on. To overcome their foreign enemies, the Hebrews passed through a phase of priestly government on a federal basis, and achieved union under a monarchy, which took pains to develop the country's industry, trade, and agriculture. The later schism between the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah was aggravated by the struggle between monotheism, upheld by the priests and Prophets, and the syncretism favoured by some of the rulers; a further factor was the decline of the ruling houses. Meanwhile the rivalry between the two states, which were often at war with each other, weakened both; it also forced them into alliances which were unstable and burdensome.

The kingdom of Israel had a turbulent history. It was divided into two rival sections, one pro-Aramaic which favoured Damascus, the other pro-Assyrian, until in 732 Tiglath-Pileser III reduced the kingdom to the territory of Samaria alone, and in 722 it was finally vanquished by Sargon II. He transplanted the propertied classes to Mesopotamia and settled the country with Arabian and Babylonian peoples (the 'Samaritans'): these modified the racial, cultural, and religious structure which the region had acquired.

More compact than Israel, the kingdom of Judah survived it for a century and a half, but became a sort of cushion between the empire of Egypt and that of the Assyrians and their successors the Chaldeans. A first deportation of Hebrews was carried out on the orders of Sennacherib about 700, and in 586 came the larger deportations ordained by Nebuchadnezzar.

The exile of the Hebrews in Babylonia for about half a century (586-538) was of decisive importance in shaping that people. It polarized them in the indomitable will to rise again, and in their absolute certainty that divine intervention had reserved for them a glorious future. It evoked in them the sublime conception of the indestructible link of nationality, which bound them together even when their country was lost to them. Finally it placed them in daily contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia, with obvious effects upon their output of literature and art, and upon their legal, social, and other ideas.

Mesopotamia. We have already referred several times to Babylonia. But we have still to outline the principal events from the fall of the Kassites in the mid-twelfth century, when the indigenous element reasserted itself under the Second Dynasty of Isin: this was followed by four other dynasties, lasting into the tenth century. The country was conquered by the Assyrian

Shalmaneser III (859–824), while for some time the Aramaic nomads called Kaldû (Chaldaei) were continuously invading in increasing numbers. For the next two centuries, ending in 626, it was sometimes directly subject to the neighbouring Assyrian empire (whether that empire was united or split in two); at other times it was under Assyrian influence. But meanwhile the Chaldeans sought a way of obtaining dominion over their country and turning the Assyrians out. The latter reacted by deporting Babylonians, but in vain; in the end the Chaldeans, aided by the Medes, and under the leadership of King Nabopolassar (625–605), the founder of an Aramaic dynasty, succeeded in taking Nineveh. So they brought about the fall of the Assyrian empire and occupied its territory. They then began action against Egypt, whose forces were defeated at Carchemish (605); they also imposed their dominion on Syria and Palestine, consolidating it with the victories of Nebuchadnezzar in 597 and 588–586, and with the subjection of Tyre in 573.

Yet the power of the Chaldeans was short-lived. One may explain this either by the political incapacity of Nebuchadnezzar's successors and the misfortunes caused by internal risings and the interference of the priests, or by the events which were beginning to unfold in the East, with the victory of the Persians over the Chaldeans' friends the Medes. These events were not assessed at their proper importance by King Nabunidus, who was fully absorbed in an attempt at religious revival and in the construction of temples; but the outcome was the Persian war in which the last Chaldean king was overcome and Babylon was taken (539).

But even though the Chaldean dominion lasted only three-quarters of a century, it was marked by a ferment of human existence; by religion with tendencies towards pantheism; by remarkable scientific discoveries and formulations, especially in astronomy, astrology, and mathematics; and by massive architectural constructions, such as city defences, fortresses, royal palaces, and temples.

b. Greek Colonizations and the Recognition of Unity

The principal events in the Middle East between c. 1200 and the middle of the sixth century BC have now been recorded. While they were going on, the whole Aegean Sea was the centre of important historical movements, which, spreading in almost every direction, were of concern to many peoples, and altered the peoples' development. The first plantations of Hellenic peoples on the Aegean islands, and on the eastern and southern coasts of Anatolia as far as Cyprus and beyond, had been turbulent and to some extent forced upon the emigrants. But these movements were migrations in the fullest sense, and are only loosely described as 'colonization'. In them, as we have already noted, the settlers mixed with the original inhabitants, though these were of different race. Moreover at the outset they preserved

their own monarchical government and civilization of Mycenaean origin, which was typical of their courts. Meanwhile the warlike deeds and the pomp of these prince-adventurers were made glorious in the epics of the bards and became the model for men to picture the life of the gods, their enterprises and their genealogies, all anthropomorphically conceived.

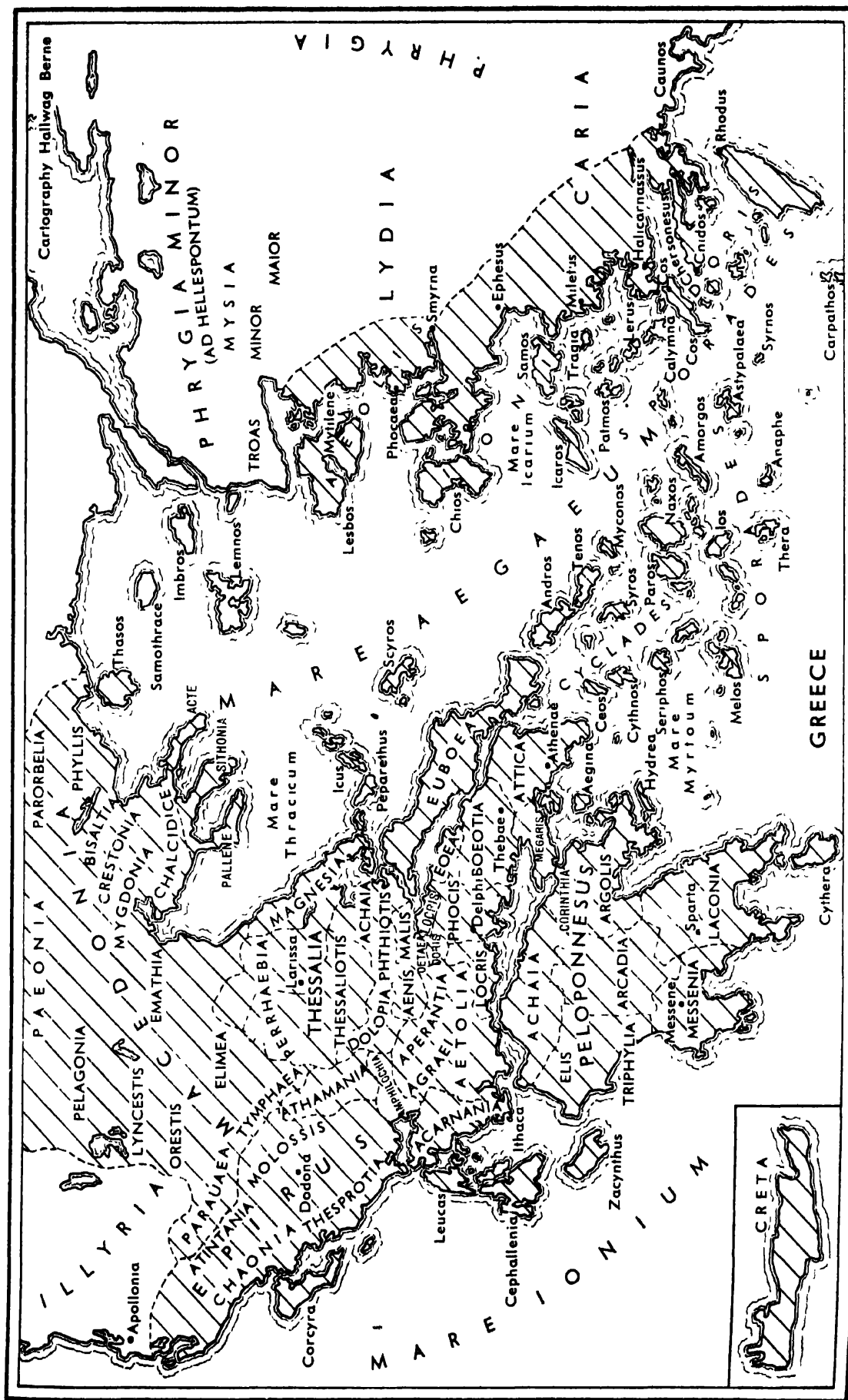
But at this point nearly all the Greek world, both inside and outside Hellas, was almost completely transformed. The kings fell, being supplanted in many of their functions by magistrates who, largely through the initiative taken by the kings' subjects, arose to organize the protection of individuals, in peace and in war; moreover the dynasties themselves could not hold out in face of challenge from the nobles, who were equally laden with honours and riches. From that time on many states, instead of making a royal palace their centre, established a common citadel. This was a refuge in time of war, and the centre of their political life,—of their assemblies, markets, and magistrates, of their artisans and industry, of their cults and of their law courts. In this way arose the 'polis'.

This political and social phenomenon, the passage from kingdom to republic, was accompanied and followed by other consequences of great importance in every field. It was now that Mycenaean art gradually decayed and gave place to new artistic conceptions. It had flowered mainly as a 'palace' product; but commercial relations with the East had ceased for a time, and the courts were disappearing, together with the concentration of wealth in the hands of the kings. It was now too that the new metal iron, which revolutionized metal working, was adopted far and wide. At the same time the spread of alphabetic writing made it easier to transmit to others first epics, then other forms of literary output. Finally, it was now that the area of colonization assumed enormous dimensions. Up to the time of which we are speaking, it was simply the earliest zones of occupation, in the Aegean islands and on the Anatolian coasts, which had continued, almost to overflowing, to receive Greek peoples: they were large territories, and new settlement could make it possible to assert Greek race and culture against the threat of being swamped by foreign elements among the indigenous peoples. The result was that, united in leagues with religious backgrounds, the Greek settlements not only succeeded, generally speaking, in preserving their freedom, but also joined with the indigenous peoples to form mixed cultures, the so-called *koinai* of Greek Asia Minor. The best-known *koiné* (apart from that of Cyprus) is the Ionian, especially in the Graeco-Lyidian period, when the Lydian tendency to welcome Ionian civilization was so clearly shown.¹⁶

For centuries the Greeks had poured in this way into the earliest colonial lands, but now new areas were needed to cope with the overpopulation which affected not a few districts in Greece.¹⁷ They increasingly needed to find foodstuffs to exchange against manufactured goods, and new cultivable lands for the disinherited and for political malcontents, who wanted to emigrate.

A further cause was their love of expeditions which were risky, but could bring great profits. A second wave of expansion, over a wider field, now began. First came commercial ventures of piratical type which explored the way; they were followed by one lot of emigrants after another, the movement growing in intensity over three centuries, from c. 800 to 500 B.C. The result was the creation of trading-stations and colonies on many islands and shores; in the western Balkans, in Sicily and south Italy from the Gulf of Taranto to Cumae, in the Adriatic and on the Ligurian, Celtic, and Iberian coasts of the Mediterranean, in Cyrenaica and even in a piece of Egypt and at Al Mina in north Syria. These were paralleled by the rise of other settlements on the northern coast of the Aegean, and in the Propontis, Pontus, and Crimea. (Map IIa and b.)

These commercial and colonial enterprises, which in their early days provided the background for the poetry of romance and adventure—a vast corpus from which we possess the *Odyssey*—had decisive importance in spreading Greek ideas, both original and at second hand, over all the Mediterranean, especially the northern coasts; and into Greece there poured produce, merchandise, ideas, and stories from all that world outside. The different sections of the new colonial Greece each encountered an environment that was peculiar. Detached from their mother countries, they had contact with indigenous peoples of every possible way of life; their new lands were not always comparable with their own in climate, and possessed quite different resources in agriculture, pasture, mining, and trade. Although, therefore, each section according to its bent and powers contributed to the general civilizing process, each developed a civilization which was in some measure its own. The result is that many specific Graeco-native cultures can be distinguished: in Magna Graecia, Sicily, the country round Marseilles, the Propontis, the Ukraine, the Crimea, Cyrenaica, and so on. In Egypt at the outset the Hellenic traders only succeeded in establishing trading-posts like those at Naucratis in the sixth century: it was later, when the country fell into anarchy and decay, that the Greeks were taken on as mercenaries and intermarried with the natives; but they could not appreciably modify a civilization which had thousands of years behind it, and consequently from the beginning they took more from it than they gave. In Cyrenaica on the other hand they co-operated with the Libyans in intercepting trade along the caravan routes. In Sicily the cultural union with the natives was close and productive, especially in the days before discord began and before competition from the Carthaginian colonists made itself felt in the north-west part of the island. In south Italy the colonies had admittedly to meet competition from the Etruscans, who had conquered down to the Gulf of Salerno (but note that the Etruscans themselves were already markedly Hellenized); yet until the Sabellians expanded in the fifth century, Graeco-Italian culture achieved a magnificent degree of prosperity. Lastly, there were the Phocaeans, who, in their descents on the Adriatic coasts and the central Tyrrhenian



MAP III

coasts of Italy, brought imports from eastern lands and provided the impetus for the orientalizing periods in local art. Moreover, by planting themselves in Corsica, on the Gulfs of Genoa and Lions, and on the coast to the north of the Ebro, they were the determining force in promoting cultural progress among the Ligurians, Celts, and Iberians, until about the middle of the sixth century they came into conflict with the Etruscans and Carthaginians in Corsica, and with the Carthaginians in Spain. No less important was the influence of the Greek colonists on the Black Sea coasts, especially in the modern Ukraine.

At the same time constitutional units on a larger scale were gradually forming in Greece. In some places these took the form of voluntary federations, religious and political; in others an imperial power expanded and imposed its rule directly on the neighbouring peoples, who were reduced to subjection or treated as members of a league directed by the dominant city; in other cases again the means were the synoecism of several small independent states, who were absorbed into a single *polis*. (Map III.)

The best-known and most typical case of the unification of a whole region by constitutional development occurred in Attica, where all the centres which once were independent were gradually 'synoecized' into a single city-state, named Athens;¹⁸ and kingship gave place to oligarchic rule, and then to democracy.¹⁹ The latter process occurred through the legislative work of two 'nomothetai', Draco and Solon, through the pro-democratic behaviour of the Peisistratid tyrants, and through the reforms of Cleisthenes. The work of Cleisthenes brought to an end many decades of similar upheavals.²⁰ It ended the domination of the Eupatridae, and was decisive in giving Athens the military, social, economic, and moral power, which in the years which followed enabled it to work towards the preservation of Greece from Persian domination.

But Athenian synoecism was only one of the many political associations, which like all manifestations of the Greek genius admitted marked variations within the type. The divergence was very largely caused, of course, by the actual conditions of environment and by the economies of the different peoples, which were in some places based mainly on commerce and abundance of movable wealth, in others on agriculture and grazing, that is to say chiefly on landed property. Thus in the neighbourhood of the isthmus various commercial and industrial cities competed for hegemony. In Corinth the ruling house of the Bacchiads and after them the Cypselid tyrants developed shipping and mercantile activities; the many colonies they sent out were kept, so far as possible, in subject status until they asserted their independence at the time of the fall of the Cypselids. Megara, which was also ruled first by its aristocrats and then by tyrants, took an active and warlike part in colonization, and was later engaged in a long struggle with Athens for the possession of Salamis and Nisaea. Sicyon, the determined enemy of Argos, was similarly dominated by aristocratic families, and was

then ruled for a century by the Orthagorid tyrants, who may have survived until 520.²¹ Lastly Argos, with the Temenid house at its head, in the middle of the seventh century found in Pheidon the man to secure its temporary supremacy over the Argolid, Achaea and part of Arcadia: he too was a great promoter of commercial expansion, and he introduced coinage into Greece.²²

The great opponent of Argos was the political organization which had started its history farther to the south, around Sparta. While in other states the rise of the aristocrats had generally led to the fall of the kingly power, in Sparta two reigning families had taken their place side by side, each controlling the other, and both being controlled by the board of magistrates called the ephors. Other characteristic features of the constitution, which was attributed to Lycurgus,²³ were the strictly agricultural basis of Spartan life, and the militarist organization of the governing class, the 'Homoioi': they alone enjoyed full political rights and alone had ownership of the lots into which the greater part of the land was divided. These lots were cultivated by the 'Helots', descendants of the inhabitants who of old had been conquered and reduced to serfdom: the remaining land was held by the Perioeci, people who were free but had no political rights, though they were not forbidden to engage in trade. But with the passage of time both these methods of dealing with the conquered peoples led to a dangerous lack of numerical balance between the governors and the governed; and in the lands farther from the centre the Spartans adopted instead a system of alliances, making possible the creation of the 'Peloponnesian League'. By the end of the sixth century this had become the largest political association in Greece. Into it were gradually drawn almost all the Peloponnesian states, whether they liked it or not; the chief cause being their perpetual feuds and their wars with Argos.

The phenomenon of tyranny flourished also in the islands of the Aegean and in the Asiatic Greek cities, where the tyrants both took part in the struggle between nobles and demos and also acted as arbiters: for example at Chalcis, Lesbos, Ephesus (which was linked by close commercial ties with Lydia), Erythrae, Miletus, Samos. In Samos, Polycrates about 540 created a small maritime empire: he was the friend first of Egypt, then of Persia, and engaged in war at various times with the leading Greek powers of Sparta, Corinth, Lesbos, and Miletus. Nor were the colonies of Magna Graecia free from these struggles for power or from the class struggles which called for intervention by the law-givers and later by the tyrants. As an example may be mentioned the wars between Croton and Locri in the first half of the sixth century. A little later came the coalitions formed against Siris and against Croton (which had come into the hands of the aristocratic Pythagoreans). Finally Croton was victorious, with the destruction of Sybaris in 510.

About 500, then, the three cities in the Ionian Sea which maintained their power were Tarentum, Croton, and Locri; on the Tyrrhenian side the

prominent city was Cumae, which had lately defeated the Etruscans. In Sicily, too, there were struggles for power, class wars, law-givers, and tyrants: the most notable examples of the last are found before the end of the seventh century at Leontini, followed by Phalaris at Acragas who acceded in 570.

Yet however much the Greeks, in the peninsula and in their colonies, were divided into many states which had different constitutions and were often at war with one another, they still had a deep sense of their racial unity, across a hundred modes of dialect, custom, and cult.²⁴ What mattered most was that all recognized a group of major Panhellenic deities, of whom the great poets sang. They had their great temples to which men flocked from every side to hear the oracles. And they had their games—great meeting-places, in which they got to know one another, where they exchanged ideas, and where artistic production and imitation were fostered.

c. *Pre-Roman Italy*

Between about 1200 and 1100 BC Italy, in broad terms, was inhabited as follows. From the Tusco-Emilian Apennines, and from the Ciminian hills on the Tyrrhenian side, as far as Sicily there were Indo-European peoples, the first wave of Italian invaders: these spoke dialects akin to Latin (Latini, Hernici, Ausones, Opici, Itali, Siculi and Sicani) and had probably already arrived in the Chalcolithic Age. To the north of the Arno, and throughout Liguria, Piedmont, and western Emilia, the Ligurians had been living at least from Neolithic times; they were the remains of a pre-Aryan race who had originally been spread over a much wider area. Around Verona were the Euganei, in Picenum the Asyli, in western Sicily the Elymians; these too were probably of Liguroid stock, the survivors of Neolithic populations, as were at least a part of the Corsicans and Sardinians. Lastly, along the routes of the central Alpine passes and in the lake districts of the Transpadana there were the *palafitticoli*; and farther to the south astride the Po their offshoot the *terramaricoli*, who constructed pile-dwellings on terra firma. These the present writer maintains were of Etruscan stock; that is, they were ancestors of the Etruscans of historical times, who believed themselves to be autochthonous inhabitants of the peninsula from remote antiquity. The Etruscans therefore rejected the pseudo-learned theory of the Greek logographers, who used futile arguments, with variants which destroyed consistency, to support the view that at a more or less recent date the Etruscans had come from the East. Many modern scholars still believe in these Eastern origins, though they cannot agree on the chronology of the migration, which they place variously at dates ranging from 1200 to 650 BC.²⁵

But about 1000 great changes and racial movements affected this distribution. New waves of Indo-European peoples arrived in the Balkans and in the upper Danube valley, from which a section crossed into Italy by the eastern Alpine passes. These included first the people we shall call the

'Second Italici' (Oscans followed by Umbrians), secondly the Illyrians, and thirdly the Celts. The last-named remained for the moment in the rear-guard, in the Transalpine country. But their movements, by the pressure they set up, must none the less have helped to generate the three advances into the Po valley: by the Osco-Umbrians, by the Veneti (an Illyrian race), and by a large section of those North Etruscans who till now had stayed north of the Alps or in the Alpine valleys.

The adjacent portions of these three peoples, racially distinct, had now come to live next door to one another in an area which was not particularly large. This led to the creation of an almost homogeneous regional culture, whose distinguishing features include artistic decoration of Balkan provenance, cremation of their dead, and the abundant use of iron. It is possible, however, to discern three distinct variations: the Atestine culture of the Veneti, the 'Villanovan' of the Etruscans, and the 'Pianellian' of the Oscans.

Later, while the Veneti gradually penetrated into their home of historical times, the Osco-Umbrians were pressed towards the Apennines of Umbro-Romagna. They therefore crossed the mountains and descended into Umbria, the Sabine and Marsic countries, and beyond—even sending out some offshoots to settle among the Latins.

At the same time²⁶ part of the Etruscans crossed the Tusco-Emilian Apennines and entered Tuscany. There they found themselves in quite new surroundings. The contours of Tuscany and its climate, and the wealth of its mines on the mainland and the island of Elba, made it a more promising country than that which they had left: so, too, did the outlets to the sea, which allowed them to start a navy and establish trade with the Mediterranean peoples.

By about 700 the first Greek colonists had begun to arrive on the Ionian coasts of Italy:²⁷ the Laconians at Tarentum, followed soon by the Achaeans (to use the archaic term, but really Dorians) at Metapontum, Sybaris, Croton, and other places; and the Locrians of Epizephyrian Locris. Soon afterwards the Chalcidians of Euboea settled at Rhegium and Cumae on the Tyrrhenian coast, and also in Sicily at Naxos, Catana, Leontini, Himera, and other places. They were followed in that island by the Megarians at Megara Hyblaea and later at Selinus; by the Corinthians at Syracuse and its daughter-colonies; and a little while later, about 680, by the Cretans and Rhodians at Gela (who in 580 sent an offshoot to Acragas).

Meanwhile, about 630, another stream of trader-colonists from Ionia, who started from Phocaea on the Asiatic coast, had begun to found outposts on the coasts of the Adriatic, and also on the Tyrrhenian coast to the north of Cumae at the mouth of the Tiber, on the Etruscan and Ligurian coasts, and farther to the west.

The economic relations between Etruscans and Greeks, first the Cumaeans and later the Phocaeans, were of enormous importance in the progress of Etruscan civilization. For instance they took from the Cumaeans the alphabet,

together with many concepts in the field of religion, art, and literature: from the Phocaeans they derived all the features of the orientalizing period of their art. Their culture reached such heights of maturity in their new surroundings and with their new contacts that, despite political disunity, they were fired by the desire to expand. So it was that in the seventh and sixth centuries one group of armed bands subdued the principal towns on the routes between Etruria and Campania (overrunning early regal Rome in the first period of its hegemony over the Latins), and pushed down to the Gulf of Salerno: other bands pressed into western Umbria and south-eastern Liguria, and even poured into part of the Po valley to become overlords of their cousins the North Etruscans.

But after a long period of Graeco-Etruscan friendship the harmony was broken by the exploits of the Phocaeans in the northern Tyrrhenian Sea, where they were based on Alalia in Corsica and seen to be coveting the iron of Elba. Some Etruscans then allied themselves with the Carthaginians, the third sea-power of the western Mediterranean, who had for some time been fighting the Phocaeans on the coasts of Africa and Spain. The result, about 540, was the battle of Alalia, which compelled the Phocaeans to relinquish Corsica and give up commercial competition south of the Arno mouth. To this period of Etrusco-Carthaginian co-operation probably belongs the so-called Treaty of 509 between Rome and Carthage, whose terms certainly imply Etruscan domination of Rome.

Meanwhile the conflict between Etruscans and Greeks developed on the mainland. In c. 524 Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumae, repelled the Etruscans and weakened their hold on Campania. Then the Latins won a victory over them at Aricia, and the Romans expelled the Tarquins.²⁸ So the Campanian possessions were cut off by land from Etruria and could not be maintained for more than about thirty years (see Part II). The enmity between Greeks and Etruscans naturally diminished the borrowings between one culture and the other; and the result was that even in the coastal districts the Tyrrhenians produced work which reflected more accurately their own tastes and talents, like the earlier work produced in the more inland cities which had less contact with the Greeks.

In the eighth and seventh centuries, therefore, all the more civilized peoples of Italy looked to the Greek world as their leader. This was true directly in Magna Graecia and in Sicily on account of the strong and numerous Hellenic colonies. It was also true, though less directly, in the Latian district, in the Veneto, in Apulia, and in Picenum (where about 1000 BC other Illyrian peoples had settled), since the Etruscans and the other inhabitants of these territories had frequent commercial contacts with the Greeks.

At the end of the seventh century and more particularly in the course of the sixth, as we have already shown, the Etruscans acquired both political and cultural supremacy in the central Cispadana and in the Tyrrhenian countries down to the Gulf of Salerno; and by this time they had been

indoctrinated with Greek culture. Their conquests included Latium, which is shown by its use of the alphabet and by other evidence to have been in contact with Cumae; they also conquered Rome, then engaged in establishing its first narrow hegemony in Latium, which area was extended by the Etruscans to take in Terracina. After the fall of the Tarquins this Etruscan empire broke down; but their supremacy had been long-lived enough to introduce a number of new ideas and techniques, some purely Etruscan, others Greek which the Etruscans had taken over. At the same time the Carthaginians, a new power, were making themselves felt for the first time in western Sicily, and were reinforcing the influence which their Phoenician cousins had already established in Sardinia. Finally, in all the countries which came less fully under Greek or Etruscan influence, it was largely an archaic, 'tribal', conception of living which went on: the peoples were engaged mainly in pasturage and agriculture, and were therefore scattered over the countryside, or living in villages. The villages which were sited at strong points served as refuges in case of danger, and this fact often allowed them to assert their supremacy over their neighbours, as happened with the 'Palatine city' in the early regal period of Rome.

d. *Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Phocaeans and Massiliotes in the Mediterranean*

We have already related the decay and disintegration of the Phoenician colonies resulting from the difficulties of communication with the mother country in south Syria when it came under Assyrian domination. This led, it was explained, to the establishment in the second half of the seventh century²⁹ of Phocaean colonies in the old zone of Phoenician activity on the west coast of Spain (which Herodotus says Colaeus of Samos found deserted about 630), and even on the shore of Tunisia, at Kybos, Hippo Diarrhytus, and other places. This explains the contemporary passage of Genesis, assigning to the Iavan (Ionians) the possession of both Elisha (Tunisia) and Tarshish (Tartessus in Spain).³⁰

But at this point Carthage asserted its influence: it became the new metropolis in place of Tyre, and set about the organization of its daughter-cities around it. The establishment of its new empire was comparatively rapid. Already at the end of the seventh century, or the beginning of the sixth, Carthage in its turn had sent colonies to Pantelleria, to Motya, Panormus, and Solus in Sicily, and to Ebusus in the Balearics. It had reinforced the Phoenician settlements on the eastern coast of Sardinia, looking towards the iron island of Elba; placed an outpost at Punicum to the north of Caere, to lay hands on the Tolfa mines; and soon made an alliance with the Etruscans, checking, at the battle of Alalia, the progress of the Phocaeans in the northern Tyrrhenian Sea and in Corsica (c. 540). Finally (for this our authority is Aristotle) it concluded a series of maritime treaties with the

Etruscan cities, among which we have knowledge of the one with Rome. Moreover in the sixth century the Carthaginians prevented any establishment of Greek colonies in western Sicily, where they were enlarging their own dominion.

The relationship of Carthage to the Phoenician colonies was paralleled by that of Massilia to the Greek colonies of Phocaea. After 540 they were cut off from normal contact with the mother country and from any easy possibility of obtaining their customary supplies of oriental merchandise. Left therefore to fend for themselves, and subjected to the hostile attacks of the Carthaginians and Etruscans, they united under the leadership and protection of Massilia.

Once bases in the East were lost, the cultural significance of the new empires, of both Carthage and Massilia, naturally began to be very different from that of the old colonies of Tyre and Phocaea. Indeed the two powers, the one Semitic and the other Greek, grew continually more remote from, and independent of, their mother countries, and developed a western outlook. This process owed something to the effect they had on one another: it also reflected the tastes and talents and potentialities of the peoples with whom they most often came into contact, namely those of north-west Africa, Spain, Gaul, and the Ligurian lands.

In fact Massilia and the other Phocaean settlements, together with some infiltration from the Etruscans, were the main forces responsible for the civilizing movement among the Ligurian and Celtic tribes, in direct proportion to the distance of these tribes from the Greeks.

We have seen that about 1000 the Celts were concentrated north of the Alps, in two groups with North Etruscan peoples lying between them. The eastern group for some time maintained contact with the Osco-Umbrians and adopted certain common forms of speech: the other group, farther to the west, had preserved their original tongue, which bears comparison with Latin forms. It seems that the Celts of this second group, the westerners, were the first to penetrate into eastern France.³¹ They took with them culture of the first Hallstatt³² period, which gives us a date about 800 or slightly later, and pushed up through Franche Comté, Burgundy, Champagne, and Lorraine into modern Belgium,³³ finally pressing along the coast into Armorica. It was only later that the eastern group, following along behind the others, entered the part of Gaul which had not yet been occupied, though in some districts they superimposed themselves on the earlier arrivals.

e. *The Celts*

The Celts naturally found it easy to conquer these large territories with their superior military organization, which included cavalry,³⁴ chariots of war, entrenched camps and so on; and their iron sabres struck fear in com-

parison with the primitive equipment of the Ligurian peoples. At this point, in the second half of the seventh century, the Phocaean merchants began to arrive and place their outposts on the Mediterranean coast, from the Gulf of Genoa to the Pyrenees; and the Celts as well as the surviving Ligurian peoples started to draw their cultural borrowings from the newcomers. In this way, by a process which began in the period 600-550 and extended gradually from the Mediterranean to the interior, the civilization of Hallstatt was gradually transformed into that of La Tène: the latter originated in the cultural 'koiné' of Celts and Phocaean, and in the more precise combination of Celts and Massiliotes which soon followed after the Massiliote empire had been formed. But the Celtic peoples who lived relatively far from Massilia, those in Belgica and the Rhineland for example, were not appreciably affected by this influence, and were even carried back to more primitive conditions of civilization by their admixture with the Germanic peoples who were beginning at this time to cross the Rhine.

Meanwhile the population was rapidly growing, with results made more noticeable by the Germanic invasions. Partly for this reason, and partly because they still retained their semi-nomadic ways and spirit of adventure, a part of the Celts returned from Gaul to their earlier homes on the northern side of the Alps, and from there pressed into the Balkans and beyond (see Part II). At the same time other parties separated from this main body, crossed both the western and the northern Alpine passes, and began to pour into the Po valley. There in successive invasions they took possession of large tracts of country. This was not, as the Roman annalists claimed, an operation accomplished in a very short space of time just before the siege of Rome in 386. The true story is given by several independent traditions, including one also reported by Livy. They started in the first half of the sixth century, and gradually, though with difficulty, overcame the Ligurians of central and northern Piedmont, together with the North Etruscans and the Etruscans of Lombardy and Emilia, until they finally penetrated into northern Picenum. The slow progress of the advance is confirmed by archaeological evidence, which ascribes greater antiquity to the earliest Celtic remains in Piedmont and Lombardy in comparison with those in Emilia and Picenum. In any event these Celts can be shown by the hybrid character of the surviving texts to have become mixed with the earlier inhabitants, and in the cultural field they were influenced by the Etruscans and Veneti.

We now pass to Spain, where the history of culture must take account of the following events and movement of peoples. The Iberians, a Hamitic race of north African origin, were superimposed on the country's earlier inhabitants; and the result was the civilization which in the Bronze Age we call 'Almerian', from El Argar in Almeria, and in the Iron Age Tartessian; this civilization was spread over a wide area. But in the first half of the first millennium two land invasions took place. In the first, about 1000, a people penetrated into Catalonia carrying the so-called 'Urn civilization',³⁵

which resembled that of the *terramaricoli* and the Villanovan culture of the Po valley, and also the civilization of Switzerland, south Germany, and eastern France: all these areas were the home of 'lake-dwellers' (*palafitticoli*), which in the author's view implies that the inhabitants were of Etruscan origin. The second invasion occurred about 600 at the hands of emigrants arriving from Gaul.³⁶ They brought the Hallstatt civilization into Catalonia, the central plateau, Portugal, and Galicia; and there over three centuries they developed Hallstatt culture with few innovations derived from La Tène. This second wave of immigrants, who are certainly to be identified with the Celts, fused with the Iberians and are the ancestors of the later Celtiberians. They were prevented by Iberian resistance from penetrating into southern Spain.

Meanwhile, however, there arrived by sea two sets of foreign settlers, to whom we have already alluded. The Phoenicians are said by some sources on Cadiz to have arrived about 1100, but even if this is false the date was little more than a hundred years later. The second invasion, by the Phocaeans, founded Hemeroscopeion and Mainake about 600 and Emporion about 550.³⁷ Relations between Phoenicians and Iberians were by no means steady. In periods where the Phoenicians were conscious of the support of Tyre, they were not content with acquiring the minerals (gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead), which were the objectives of their trade. They attempted political domination of the Iberians; and the people of Tartessus hit back at them, especially in periods when Tyre was suffering disasters. When, later on, Carthage had taken over the direction of Phoenician policy in the West, and had reinforced the trading-stations in Spain, relations with the natives became more stable, and in general more peaceful: they opened the way to important exchanges of products and ideas. But for this very reason the more southerly colonies of Phocaea, which had acquired consequence in the period of Phoenician decline, had to face the effects of the new state of affairs and the expansionist policy of their rivals. Mainake was destroyed, and though the northern colonies survived, they passed through a troubled time. To sum up, one may say broadly that the influence of the Phoenico-Carthaginians was more strongly felt in south-east Spain, and that of the Phocaeans and Massiliotes in the north-east.

Caesar distinguishes only two racial groups in Britain, one native group which claimed to be autochthonous and one Celtic group which he claims, on the strength of similarity in place-names, to come from Belgica (to which one might add Armorica). The linguistic evidence shows that Britain was invaded both by 'Goidelic' Celts, who belong to the first movement and would thus in our view have come from Belgica, and also by 'Cymric' Celts, who belong to the second movement and presumably came from Brittany or Armorica. But there is no archaeological confirmation of these crossings until the first period of La Tène. So, although many scholars disagree, our view must be that before c. 500 the inhabitants of the British Isles were

pre-Celtic, and pre-Aryan. They certainly belonged to several racial strata which overlay one another, and at least in the southern districts they had attained a certain level of civilization through their early trading relations with the Mediterranean people, who came to Britain from Spain and from farther afield in search of Cornish tin and Irish gold. The greater part of this trade was ultimately monopolized by the Phoenician colonies and later by those of Carthage.

This cultural history explains, among other things, how the Celts who crossed to Britain transmitted to their ancestors east of the Channel not only merchandise but religious and political ideas, for instance Druidism.

f. Northern Europe

About the remainder of Europe, central, north and east, there are no specific references in our authorities which can help to explain the progress of civilization in the period with which we are concerned. We must, therefore, try to infer the main lines of intertribal relationships from archaeological finds and their distribution, bearing in mind the natural routes along which trade could develop, and also the districts where the merchandise wanted by the civilized countries came to be discovered or produced. This kind of investigation needs great caution. There is the initial difficulty of establishing relative chronologies for the various levels of backward civilization attained by countries which are still to be accounted 'barbarian', the backwardness increasing roughly in proportion to their distance from the Mediterranean lands. Moreover, the goods exchanged are only very partially preserved. With crude and manufactured metals (for which we also know the mining and manufacturing areas), or with pottery, or with precious materials like coral, amber, and ivory (unless they have perished for some such reason as being used in cremation), we can argue from something concrete. But for many other articles of trade, like cereals, domestic animals, smoked fish, salt, slaves, textiles, or wine and oil, we have no solid data. In our period, however, transport went so far as possible by the easiest means, that is to say by water, on rivers or on the sea. If, therefore, we bear in mind archaeological finds which illustrate this commerce, and the production areas of crude metal, amber, and rock-salt, we can reconstruct (as follows) a certain number of trade-routes, and so get some idea, on very schematic lines, of the way civilization moved up from the south:

(1) The sea-route from the Mediterranean, by the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic coast-line, to Britain. This route was already followed in the Bronze Age to obtain Cornish tin and also Irish gold, and was later dominated by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, who started from Spain or Africa;

(2) the sea-route from Britain to Belgica, which from that point divided in three directions: by the rivers of northern Gaul and the Rhône towards the Gulf of Lions; by the Scheldt and the Rhine towards Germany; and by the North Sea and the Baltic to Scandinavia;

(3) the routes leading from the central Po valley (the North Etruscan region) and the head of the Adriatic (where the Veneti lived) by the Danube and the Rhine towards the North Sea, or by the Danube and the Vistula to the Baltic and beyond;

(4) the routes from the Po valley by the Julian Alps and the Danube to the Black Sea—or by the Balkans to the Aegean and Anatolia;

(5) the waterway from the Adriatic up the Po and the tributaries on its left bank, leading to the country of the Alpine and North Etruscan tribes, and then across the passes to the Rhône valley;

(6) the route from the Greek colonies of Odessus, Istria, Tyras, etc., by the Dniester and the Vistula to the Baltic and Scandinavia;

(7) the routes from the Greek town of Olbia via the Dnieper, and from the Crimean colonies via the Don, to central Russia and beyond;

(8) from the Greek colonies of Colchis via the Caucasian region towards the countries beyond the Caspian;

(9) from the Middle East via the Caspian coasts and the Volga, to the country lying beyond.

But naturally the use made of these routes altered from time to time, among other things when new exportable surpluses were discovered in the barbarian countries.

2. THE BEGINNINGS OF MEDIA AND PERSIA

We have now given a broad outline of historical events in the Middle East and the West. It remains to consider the Asiatic countries lying farther east, beginning with the Medo-Persian area which served as a bridge.

We have already had occasion, in speaking of the Mitanni and Kassites, to mention the eastward movement of an eastern Indo-European group of peoples, the 'Aryans', who must be assumed to have come from the Russian steppes along the coasts of the Caspian. To this group belonged, first the Scythians and Cimmerians, who remained as nomads along the route they had travelled, secondly the Iranic people, the subject of this section, and thirdly the Indians, of whom we shall speak in a moment. The Iranic races had their rise when they migrated in various sections on to the Iranian plateau south of the Caucasus. The Medes moved into the country north-east of the Elamites; and the Persians, who first were semi-nomadic wanderers in league with the Cimmerians and Scyths to the north-west of the Medes near Lake Van, later settled down south of Media in territory which extended to the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf.³⁸ The identification of the Medes with the Mannei mentioned in second-millennium documents may be doubted.³⁹ But an inscription of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II speaks of his victory over them, followed by the deportation of 50,000 people, in 837; Tiglath-Pileser III made them tributary, and at least for a time occupied the territory of the Parsua; and in 715 Sargon II carried off the Median

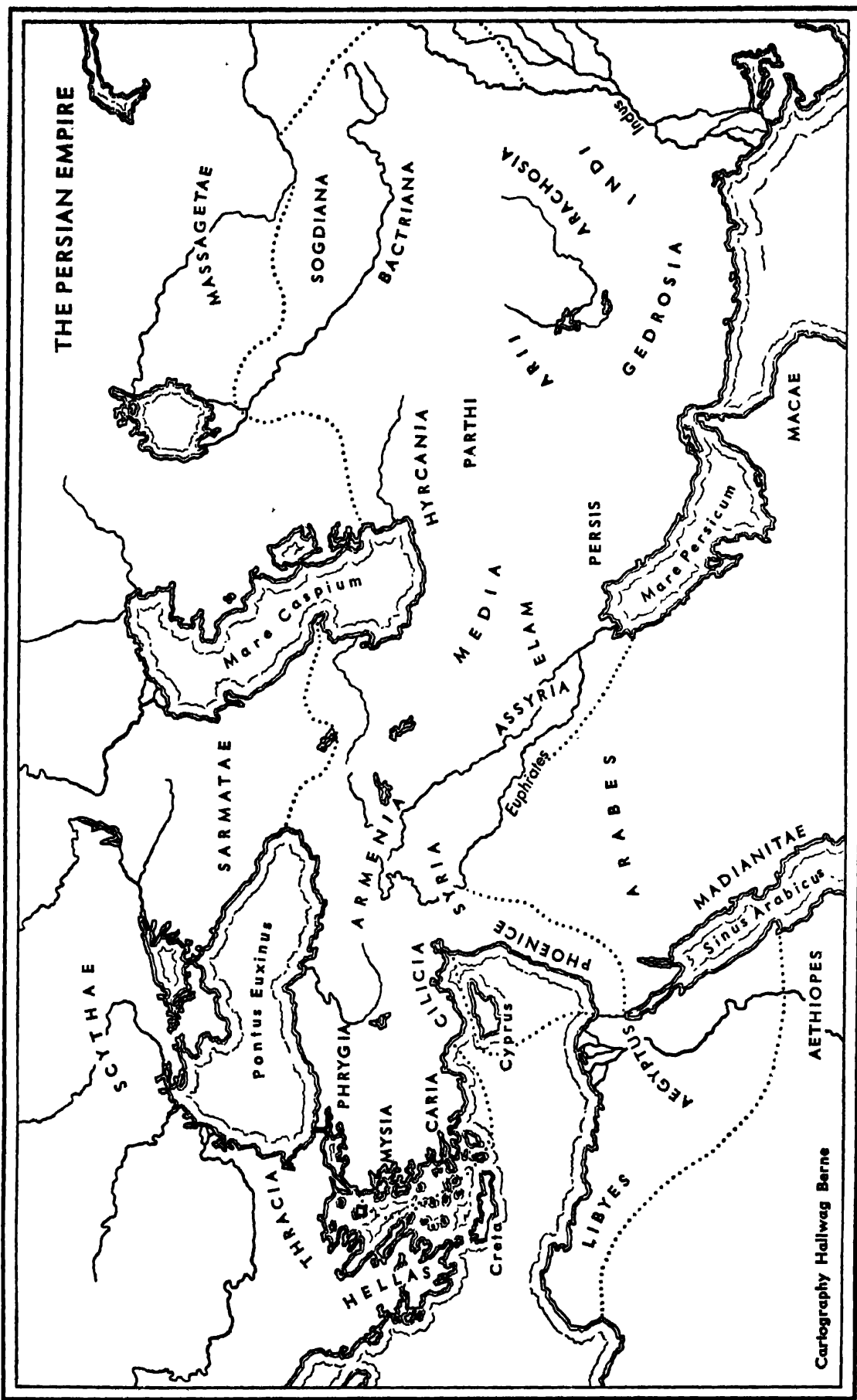
king Dayakku. Vassalage to the Assyrians led the Medes to take over some parts of Assyrian culture; but they must also have possessed a considerable culture of their own to account for the lofty ideas in religion and ethics which bear the general title of Zoroastrianism. On the date of Zoroaster (Zarathustra) there was already wide disagreement in antiquity, but he cannot be put later than 1000 if we are to explain the archaic language of the '*Gathā*' which are attributed to him.⁴⁰

It then seems that Dayakku (the Deioces of Herodotus) recovered his freedom, and in the years beginning in 708 unified the Medes around Ecbatana as their capital, although they still paid tribute to Assyria. One of his successors, Phraortes (Khshathrita), advanced farther, by subduing a part of the Persians (though in the country of Anzan an independent Persian dynasty still maintained itself);⁴¹ he also tried, without success, to throw off the Assyrian yoke. His work was carried to its conclusion by Cyaxares (653-585). This king recovered the throne he had lost to Scythian invaders, raised an excellent army, and made an alliance with the Chaldean Nabopolassar. He then defeated Assyria and in 612 destroyed Nineveh. After this he occupied Armenia, Cappadocia, and the eastern part of the domains of Alyattes, king of Lydia, as far as the Halys. He thus merged the cultures of Media, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia into a single union over a wider area than hitherto.

But his successor Astyages (585-550) could not hold his own against the action of the Persian king Cyrus II (558-529), a member of the Achaemenid family who until then had been princes of Anzan. Cyrus first achieved the unification of Persia; he then subdued Media, capturing Ecbatana in 550 or so, and took possession of the whole Median empire.

From 547 BC Cyrus continued his conquests. He started with two victories over the Lydian king Croesus, who in resisting him had relied on a coalition with the Chaldeans and Egyptians: Croesus' whole kingdom was occupied, including the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast which formed part of it. Next Cyrus pressed forward to the Caspian and almost to the Aral Sea in the north; and in the east he reached the right bank of the Indus and the left bank of the Jaxartes as far as the foothills of the Himalayas. Finally, he began to revenge himself upon Croesus' allies. He took Babylon by storm (c. 539), occupied its territories, and caused himself to be recognized as their legitimate sovereign—for he had clearly been favoured by the local gods.

After his death the vengeance was completed by Cambyses (529-521). With the help of Arabian allies he concentrated his forces at Gaza and defeated the Egyptian king Psamtik III at Pelusium. After the fall of Memphis, Psamtik was made prisoner, and the Persian secured recognition as a legitimate Pharaoh, acceptable to the gods of the country. But Cambyses could make no headway against Ethiopia in the south or Carthage in the west, beyond Nubia and Cyrenaica respectively. At his death there were difficulties over the succession, complicated by separatist attempts of Persia, Susiana,



MAP IV

Babylonia, Hyrcania, Lydia, and Egypt.⁴² Eventually the throne was won by Darius (521–486), a member of the cadet branch of the Achaemenid house and a devoted adherent to Zoroastrianism.⁴³ In the early part of his reign he expanded his possessions near the Indus, and also tried to put an end to the Scythian and Cimmerian raids by making an expedition across the Bosphorus and Thrace to the Danube. Then before resuming his expansionist policy abroad he sought to provide a stable organization for his empire, which by now comprised a vast area—from Egypt and the Aegean Sea to the banks of the Indus and Jaxartes, and from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea and the Caspian. (Map IV.) It was an empire which clearly aimed at including the whole civilized world in a single political organism.

The organization had been already in large part prepared, and actually put into effect, by Cyrus II and Cambyzes, not only through their conquests, but also by the use of new policies. In religion they practised toleration—the permission granted to the Hebrews to return to their country may be remembered—and they also favoured syncretism, which was made easier by the universality inherent in the Zoroastrian religion, with its monotheistic and ethical outlook. Moreover, in strong contrast to the arrogance of the Assyrians, they displayed humanity towards the conquered peoples and understanding of their customs; they employed local rulers as governors of the satrapies; and they tried to issue reasonable laws and provide justice and prosperity in all the countries they controlled. This was of great consequence in achieving an assimilation of cultures which was spontaneous and not forced, and in raising the level of civilization of their subjects, and of the neighbouring peoples too. Darius in his turn brought all this process to perfection by organizing the twenty divisions of the empire, the ‘satrapies’, from the various standpoints of administration, justice, defence, and finance. He paid attention to communications, and built permanent roads, with posting stations and forts: these were of immense importance for trade, which was fostered also by the adoption from Lydia of a gold coin of fixed weight, acceptable in all the provinces and called the ‘daric’, a name derived from the Accadian word for gold. The roads also provided for the defence of the empire, which was entrusted to a large standing army. From the military angle the army sometimes proved too loose an instrument: it was made uneven by the great differences in race, aptitude, speech, and equipment among the regional troops who composed it. But it was of the first importance in putting the people of distant countries into direct contact with one another and in bringing them together into a uniform way of life. Moreover the kings, to build their palaces and royal tombs, made use of craftsmen and materials from the most widely separated areas; and this brought about an intricate fusion of artistic ideas, and vastly increased the cultural borrowings and exchanges between all districts of the empire.⁴⁴

3. PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA

After 1500 BC the static agricultural and urban culture of the Indus, which had long been ossified and deprived of any real possibility of growth, decayed and finally disappeared. According to some scholars the final blow was inflicted by an invader from the north-west. These were the Aryans, a group of tribes that came perhaps from the Caspian zone and whose language still formed part of the single Indo-Iranic group. Penetrating into the Punjab from across the Afghan frontier passes, it was probably they who destroyed the strongholds (*pur*) of the Indus civilization.

The Aryans were the bearers of a civilization completely different from that of the Indus. Still semi-nomads when they entered India, they were chiefly engaged, apart from war, in cattle-raising, and only secondarily in agriculture. Gradually they imposed their language and their religion on the earlier Dravidic and Munda populations of north India (the Dasyu or Dāsa).⁴⁵ For fuller statements of the linguistic and religious history see below, pp. 60 ff., pp. 226 ff. Inevitably exposed to the penetrating influence of their surroundings, they, or rather their aristocracy, reacted instinctively by constructing a rigidly compartmentalized social system. This, at a later stage, crystallized into the theory of the four castes: priests (*Brāhmaṇa*), warriors (*Kṣattriya*), merchants and farmers (*Vaiśya*), and servants (*Śūdra*): only the three first castes enjoyed full social and religious rights. This was an unconscious attempt by one race to defend itself against the others. By its nature it involved the recognition of alien elements and an attempt to control them. But despite it the Vedic culture, originally foreign to Indian soil, ended by being deeply influenced by its environment; above all, it changed its own spirit and its own religious, ethical, and economic content, although it kept up the mythology, the ritual, and the social structure on which it had been founded. The story of the Aryan society is one of gradual adaptation to environment and of deep penetration into the psychology and way of life of their Dravidian and Munda substrata.

But before that happened, in a period contemporary with the migration into the Punjab, this rude society of Aryan shepherds and soldiers conceived a series of sacred lays; and at the end of the second millennium BC these were gathered into the four great collections of the *Veda*. They were very soon accepted as revealed truth, and remained always (at least in theory) the fundamental basis of Indian religion.

Once they were fixed in their definite form by the ancient compilers, their preservation was assured. For they were handed down from generation to generation, with scrupulous care for the sound and form of the sacred text, in schools, better described as societies for oral transmission: the text was then written down several centuries after our era. Indeed, after pictographic script had vanished from the Indus, it is remarkable that writing—and therefore written sources—appear in India much later, as is indeed the case

with all Indo-European languages, than in the other great cultural areas of Asia.

India, with rare exceptions, has not developed a written history.⁴⁶ Yet we can reconstruct an outline of Aryan tribal history from the Vedic hymns, from the great epics of *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, from later works (the *Purāṇas*) of mythical, sociological and semi-historical content, and from Buddhist and Jain texts. Much of the history, however, is disconnected, uncertain and unsupported by archaeology: it is therefore largely hypothetical.

At the beginning Aryan power was limited to the Punjab; the focus of the Rigvedic culture lay on the banks of the now extinct river Sarasvatī (the Śarsuti, which today is lost in the sands of Bikaner). From this small central nucleus Aryan rule spread slowly eastward as far as Bengal and southward as far as the Vindhya Mountains, where it seems to have suffered a check. The duration of this is uncertain, but of all the history of the Deccan and of India to the middle of the third century BC we really know nothing precise other than what derives from the scanty data of prehistoric archaeology.

Aryan society was divided into little states of monarchic and aristocratic character engaged in perpetual struggles against one another. Few figures of historical import emerge from the shadows of myth. There were, for example, King Sudās of early Vedic times, and the confederacies of the Kuru and the Pancāla in the later Vedic period. We can identify the outline of a major conflict which involved almost all the Aryan tribes, the leaders of the two opposite camps being respectively the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava (perhaps tenth century BC). This conflict is the semi-historic core round which was then constructed the vast poem of the *Mahābhārata*. Later a great dynasty descended from King Parikṣit appeared in the western part of present-day Uttar Pradesh, a dynasty adorned by the great King Janamejaya (ninth century BC). Later still we meet the figures of the wise philosopher-king Janaka (seventh century BC?) in Videha (eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar). These rather uncertain data point to a progressive displacement eastward of the political centre of gravity of Aryan India. The Punjab was abandoned to obscure tribes of the Aryan rearguard and the great kingdoms were formed more and more to the east. Finally a limit was reached and a point of equilibrium found in central Bihar, which for about a thousand years from c. 500 BC became the imperial centre of Aryan India. Furthermore in the sixth century we can discern in outline how a balance of power took shape among the larger territorial formations (the sixteen Mahājanapada). Besides these there existed various states governed by assemblies of noblemen, sometimes but not always headed by a president with the royal title; true and real aristocratic republics of a type which did not survive for long. At the end of the period with which we have been dealing, about 500 BC, the kingdom of Magadha in central Bihar is prominent among these various states. At the same time Cyrus II and Darius I conquered the Punjab and part of Sind and annexed them to Persia as the satrapies of Gandhāra and

India. They thus started that political and cultural contact between India and Iran, often broken but always revived, which characterizes the history of the région destined in the twentieth century to become Pakistan.

In the meantime the spiritual life of the ancient Aryans had been modified by the penetration of Dravidian or at least un-Aryan ideas (metempsychosis, theory of *Karma*, sanctity of the cow, etc.), which gradually altered religious values.⁴⁷ New deities made their appearance; and Vedic religion was insensibly transformed into Brahmanism. Later, outside Brahmanic priestly circles though in close connection with them, there arose the bold monist speculations of the *Upaniṣad*. On the other hand, as an attempt to step beyond the system of caste, there emerged, about 500, the two great movements of religious reform, Jainism and Buddhism. Of these the second was destined during the following period to spread widely, within and outside the confines of India.

4. THE FAR EAST AND ASIA

a. *Pre-Confucian China*

Although China, because of its relatively isolated geographical position, had been able to develop an autonomous culture, it remained at the beginning of this period in fairly close cultural contact with the large area of steppe culture from the Ukraine to Manchuria. The Neolithic culture of Lung-Shan was followed about 1600 by a brilliant Bronze Age civilization, which is known to Chinese historical tradition by the name of Shang, and later as Yin (c. 1600–1027 BC). It is known to us above all by the excavations of its last capital, Anyang in Honan, as well as of minor towns in the same area. Its social organization presents strong matriarchal elements and the prevailing character of its religion was agricultural (with field and fertility divinities).

Towards the end of the Shang-Yin period the horse and the war chariot were introduced, perhaps from central Asia. This contributed to the formation of a governing class of warriors fighting from chariots and to the slow rise of a primitive form of feudalism.⁴⁸ We find pictographic writing already in full development in the Shang state, with features essentially identical with those obtaining at the present day.

The Shang-Yin state, which comprised a relatively small area in the lower valley of the Huang-ho, fell a victim in the second half of the eleventh century BC to the conquering armies of an ethnic group which was possibly related though less civilized: this was the Chou people, who lived in the valley of the Wei and on the bend of the Huang-ho. Their original culture was characterized by certain features somewhat different from the Shang: they were unfamiliar with bronze, had no system of writing, and their religion put less emphasis on the cult of the earth, and had a strong patriarchal stamp. It quickly assimilated the main features of Shang-Yin culture. Of course, the fusion of the two people encountered great difficulties and needed a

considerable time. But once it was achieved, the result was the Chinese civilization of the classical period.

The Chou state, founded by King Wu, was moulded at its beginning by a great statesman, the Duke of Chou, regent and later minister of the second King Wen. To Wu and to the Duke of Chou the Chou state owes its peculiar structure. It received a typically feudal organization: its territories were governed by a large number of feudal princes, enjoying full power over their own fiefs, but under the ultimate suzerainty of the king (*Wang*). The central authority derived its revenues and its military force from contributions made by its vassals. The system functioned well in the first centuries, but then decayed; it received its death blow from a barbarian invasion in 771, which compelled the dynasty to shift its residence from the lower valley of the Wei to modern Lo-yang or Honan.

The Chou dynasty was now hemmed in by powerful vassals on every side. It lost all power of developing the small territory it directly governed and was reduced to a nonentity by the great feudal leaders. It therefore quickly lost all political importance while among the fiefs a slow process of simplification and concentration of power evolved. The Chou kingdom turned into a feudal confederation under the purely religious suzerainty of the king who was left as guardian of the state cult.

Both before and after 771 the political system of the Chou, fluid and unstable though it was, spread gradually like a spot of oil over the Huang-ho and Yangtze plains, and also over part of the coastal zone. Four different processes played their part. First, foreign territories were conquered and annexed by the feudal states on the frontiers. Secondly, the expanding populations of these countries began to emigrate, sometimes in substantial numbers, and their new settlements were placed under the protection of the nearest feudal state. Thirdly, peoples and state formations, which were independent but closely connected with Chinese civilization, would accept this civilization wholesale and obtain admittance to the system of feudal states. Lastly, states with civilizations of their own would approach China, accept its fundamental premises in politics and religion, and come in as part of the feudal confederation, although they continued for centuries to preserve their own civilizations. They were influenced by Chinese culture, but from time to time contributed new features to it. Typical of this category is the state of Ch'u on the middle Yangtze, of proto-Thai race, which was added to the confederation in the ninth century. It introduced a rich civilization of its own, some remains of which have been excavated near Ch'ang-sha. It is significant that from the end of the eighth century the Ch'u kings bore the royal title of *Wang*, which was also borne by the fainéant Chou kings.

Since almost the beginning, a process developed by which the smaller states tended to be conquered and annexed by the larger ones, leading thus to a simplification of the political structure of China, to a sharpening of the conflicts and to an increase of the war potentials involved in the struggle.

By the eighth century the number of feudal states had been reduced to about 200, and the recurring struggles between them made any permanent solution impossible. To cope with the absence of a central authority, an attempt was made to introduce a stable element with the election of a hegemon or prince-president (*pa*) who would act as head of a general alliance of the feudal chiefs. This is the period (722-481) called Ch'un-ch'iu (spring and autumn), from the name of an ancient chronicle. At the beginning of the seventh century BC the strongest state was that of Ch'i in modern Shan-tung, in the centre of salt production and of trade in bronze and later in iron. Through the work of the great minister Kuan-chung, Duke Huan of Ch'i became in 678 the first *pa* of the Chinese feudal confederations; but the grand alliance of which he was head did not survive his death in 643. After a brief predominance by Ch'u, the presidency passed in 635 to Duke Wen of Chin (in Shansi); the position of hegemon was inherited by his successors but became ever more nominal when the power of that state declined. Meanwhile the power of the young state of Ch'in was slowly rising: originally a small fief in the upper valley of the Wei, this had received from the Chou, when they retreated to Lo-yang in 771, the mission of reconquering from the barbarians the ancient home of the royal dynasty. Their task was accomplished after many years of hard struggle, and by now the dukes of Ch'in dominated a solid frontier march, enclosed in the natural fortress of the Wei valley. They were hemmed in on three sides by barbarians, but, for that very reason, were accustomed to warfare and possessed a good army. Chin, Ch'in, and Ch'u remained for a long time the dominant states in the kaleidoscopic movements of the Chinese political scene. King Chuang of Ch'u (613-591) obtained the supremacy and exercised hegemony, although without a formal investiture. After his death the formal hegemony of Chin revived in practice too, especially with Duke Ching (d. 581). Then Chin became a victim of internal struggles among its noble families; the dynasty lost all its authority and in the following period the state broke up into three smaller ones. This was a tendency which can be observed also in other feudal principalities. Already in the late sixth century Chin gave way gradually in face of its more solid rivals, although its formal presidency lasted until the beginning of the fifth century BC. Peace treaties and pacts of alliances against the renewal of war followed each other at brief intervals, without succeeding in giving peace to the convulsed political world of China. In the second half of the sixth century Chin moved towards dissolution, while Ch'u was temporarily enfeebled by serious internal squabbles in which a dynastic quarrel on the surface cloaked the real but obscure ethnic tensions below. Even the growth of Ch'in seemed to slow down considerably.

The end of the period saw a great ferment of ideas in philosophy and political thought: the first schools were formed, and there appear the first wandering philosopher-counsellors who offered their advice and services to any feudal princes willing to employ them. Confucius (Kung-tsu, 551-479),

was one of these philosophers, and his school later became dominant in China, and formed and moulded its habits of thought and political theory down to the beginning of the twentieth century.

b. *Japanese Origins*

Japanese legend, codified in the *Kojiki* and in the *Nihongi*, fixes at about 660 BC the foundation of the Japanese empire at the hands of Jimmu Tennō. In actual fact Jimmu lived, it appears, a millennium later; and of Japanese history from 1200 to 500 BC we know absolutely nothing. Archaeology can only tell us that there was no Palaeolithic culture in Japan. In the Mesolithic period stone and pottery ware of very high artistic quality begins to appear in many parts of the country. This culture is normally given the name of Jōmon, from the cord-shaped decoration (*jōmon*) on the pottery. The greater part of the Jōmon industry belongs to the Neolithic period, and can be dated to the second and first millennia BC. This culture came to an end during the last centuries BC.

The inhabitants of Japan were originally a race whose modern descendants are the Ainu, of whom there are about 20,000 survivors on the island of Hokkaido. But in the first centuries of the last millennium BC came a series of migrations from the Chinese and Korean coasts and across the bridge of islands which join Japan with Melanesia and Indonesia. They led to the retreat of the Ainu towards the north, and to the formation of a mixed population whose original differences became substantially merged in the common characteristics produced by their isolated life in an island world: so was born the Japanese people. The question whether the Jōmon industry belongs to the ancestors of the modern Japanese or to the Ainu is still discussed; it seems that both people shared in it, but the former had the prevailing part.

c. *The Steppe Civilizations of Eurasia*

Conditions in central and northern Eurasia, within the scope of the present volume, are known directly only through archaeological discoveries which are nowhere near full enough to enable us to draw confident and detailed conclusions from them; nor have they yet been, as a rule, studied systematically.

In early times, it is true, the various methods of existence predominated in turn in this waste country: hunting and grazing on the one hand, which require relatively wide movements from place to place, and primitive agriculture on the other, keeping the tribes to settled homes. Yet it is certain that by the end of the second millennium BC they were nomad horsemen breeding cattle. This way of life first reached eastern Europe, then north-eastern Asia, but soon was found on the steppes of central Asia and finally

in the region of Lake Baikal. Many of the people thus acquired increased mobility in their migrations, which were also affected by the progressive growth of semi-desert areas due to desiccation.

At the present day many races and languages are intermingled in this vast area—Indo-European, Uralian, Turco-Mongolian-Tungus, Caucasian, and Tibetan—and all can be identified among the nomads who attacked China in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. They may all also have played a part, no longer definable, in cultural development and ethnic relations in the preceding centuries, and in the formation of a more or less ephemeral political whole. To attribute a precise function in time and space to each of these groups is not yet possible with any certainty, though archaeological discoveries are continually increasing. The continuous wanderings of these nomads, the repeated fusions of races and superimposition of one on the other, and the rapid evolution and mutations of speech all add to the uncertainty.

This immense area of unstable people in unsettled homes must one way or another have become the launching ground of many migrations, the impetus from each one of which was able to provoke others. In these nebulous movements lies the explanation of many reverberations which, in the course of centuries, were felt even by the people with higher civilizations in the East and in the Mediterranean world. Teggart has studied these repercussions in the period from 58 BC to AD 107; but it is to be hoped that the study will be extended to earlier and later periods, and that pertinent Soviet research will be utilized. In studies of this kind we can now go beyond archaeological evidence and the sequences provided by stratifications, and beyond the history of language; for absolute chronology is ascertainable by new scientific methods. These will permit us to identify and date the periods of climatic change, the development of communications by land and by water, and the diffusion of discoveries and of new methods for the expansion of resources, such as the exploitation of metals.

For the present we can say that the band of steppes, which stretches through northern Eurasia from the Ukraine (or even the Hungarian plain) almost to the Japanese Sea, has seen in the course of history a succession of political and cultural formations, which from about the beginning of the first millennium BC were based on nomad economy. The various states which followed each other in the steppe, although they were created by different peoples and were therefore built on various races and languages, all possessed certain characteristics which were fundamental. Their economy was pastoral; the structure of society was aristocratic; there were no cities nor urban civilizations (except for the large oases on the southern rim of this band); little or no value was attached to the possession of land itself; and bitter struggles went on with the large sedentary civilizations which adjoined them. But these factors, though perennial, cannot be directly ascertained until a later date.

For us central and northern Asia remain for the whole of this period in the sphere of prehistory. There is as yet no ray of light from outside, from the texts and documents of the great bordering civilizations. All that archaeology can tell us is almost limited to the territories which today form part of the Soviet Union, where excavations using modern scientific methods have taken place in recent times. These excavations show the importance of the metallurgical centre at Minusinsk on the upper Yenisei both in respect of its high yield and its influence on other areas.

At the beginning of the period with which we are dealing the dominant culture in Siberia was that of Karasuk (about the twelfth-seventh centuries BC), whose members were anthropologically Sinoid. Cattle-breeding began to take precedence, and later became characteristic of the whole steppe economy. Metals were already known. The Karasuk culture predominated chiefly in Transbaikalia and in northern Mongolia, and shows undoubted contacts with the Chinese Shang civilization at least in the artistic field. From about 1000, it extended also towards the west taking the place of the Andronovo culture which had survived there until then. This is the period of great cultural unity on the steppes from Pannonia to China. In this period a great military innovation began to take shape; we can detect the outlines of the man who remained dominant until the seventeenth century AD—the warrior on horseback. The western part of this area was occupied by the Scythians who were based on the steppes of south Russia. The excavations of Bernshtam in the T'ien-Shan and the Pamir have revealed the prevalence in that region since the eighth century of people who can be identified with the Sacae of western sources. In Minusinsk also there was a sudden change, with the penetration of Europoid elements, who created the Tagar I culture (about the seventh-fifth centuries), a pure Bronze Age civilization in which the horse, and the way of life that is founded on it, already played an important part. Contemporary with Tagar, there developed in the valleys of the Altai a parallel and kindred culture, that of Maiemir.

5. THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, AMERICA, AND AFRICA

Much the same confusion of peoples which we have seen brought about over many centuries by the nomads of the steppes in central and northern Eurasia must also have occurred in the vast area of the Pacific islands. Some of these were great, others small, some formed part of an archipelago, others not; and through them the sea peoples moved from one home to another using the most primitive equipment. The extent of the immigrations, the admixtures they caused, and the way one people succeeded another, are sufficiently proved by the sandwiching of languages at the present day, which shows kindred groups like the Indonesian and Polynesian separated by others of widely different speech, like that of Papua. There is also an enormous

variety of dialects and anthropological formations within each group, for the migrations increased the linguistic diversity which the establishment of each language in a separate island had already caused.

For the history of America* we can now supplement the older methods of relative chronology, based on excavation and the inspection of trees, by the more exact results obtainable from work with 'Carbon 14'. In this way without having to rely on the very inadequate oral traditions, we can distinguish various civilizations with reasonable confidence in the millennium before the discovery by Columbus.

Geography, anthropology and language make it likely that the first settlers in this vast territory arrived across the Behring Straits from north-eastern Asia, and perhaps, as some scholars maintain, by 'island-hopping' from south-east Asia, Australia, and Tasmania across the south Pacific. They scattered over huge regions, which provided every kind of climate and resources; and for thousands of years lived in various primitive societies, hunting, fishing, and gathering natural fruits. What is certain is that the so-called hoe-culture was introduced or discovered not later than the middle of the third millennium, especially in Mexico, Guatemala, and Nicaragua in the northern hemisphere, and in Peru and Bolivia in the southern: this led to sedentary ways of life and a rapid development of wealth and culture. Whether the discovery was made in one of the two hemispheres and passed on to the other, or was an autonomous act in each, is a problem to be decided when we have better knowledge of the way civilization progressed in the central American corridor, which linked the two zones.

The management of agriculture, the construction of terraces and irrigation works, or the production of edible and medicinal roots—and its improvement by the use of fertilizers—undoubtedly led in time to the formation of aristocratic classes; and to them, from c.1000 BC, was due the origin of urban life, with rapid and revolutionary development in architecture, artistic techniques, social organization, and religious ideas. Moreover about 500 Mexico began to make use of carved hieroglyphs, though these pictograms have not yet been deciphered. Our knowledge of these centres of a relatively advanced civilization, which was gradually conducted into the other regions, is now sufficiently detailed to allow a reasonable degree of precision in, for example, the classification of artistic periods.

In Africa there was a marked difference between the history of the two zones, normally called 'white' and 'black'. But though this division is more or less adequate, the frontier between the zones in the course of centuries was relatively ill-defined. In an early period the Negro or Negroid peoples may have reached the Mediterranean coast, at least at certain points: then they retreated before invaders, until they reached the present southern

* The rise and diffusion of civilization in North and South America in Pre-Columbian times will be described in Volume III of the *History of Mankind: Cultural and Scientific Development* (London and New York, 1963-), 6 vols.

boundary of the tribes of Berber-Hamitic and Cushite speech, with the river Senegal on the west and the Juba on the east. Finally, not later than the fourth century BC, Negroes are found again north of that line, either as slaves or as descendants of earlier races: thus the Moorish tribes and the Tuareg seem to be half-caste peoples from this mixture of white and black.

In white Africa, of which we have been speaking, the most ancient civilized people were the Egyptians, with the Libyans possessing a similar culture at their side. In the Mediterranean coastal districts the Hamitic races were joined by others: to the west the Phoenicians, whose colonies came later under the direction of Carthage, to the east the Greek colonists of Cyrenaica, but not before the seventh century BC.

But as time went on some cultural importance was acquired in that part of Africa by the people of Cushite language, who inhabited the land south of Egypt down to the border of modern Somaliland. In that district, which had been for long under Egyptian influence, a powerful dynastic state with its centre at Napata was built about 730 BC; and its king Piankhi conquered Egypt, expelled the reigning Libyan house, and founded the twenty-fifth dynasty. The kingdom of Napata survived in later times, although its capital was moved to Meröe, farther south.

In 'black' Africa on the other hand we can discern even in antiquity a number of movements by peoples who had for long been separated from one another and had consequently very different ways of life. The evidence of anthropology, culture, and language makes it certain that several tribes, who in our period lived, often in a state of vassalage, in small pockets of territory, like the Pygmy hunters or the Khoisan shepherds (Boshiman and Hottentots), must in earlier times have inhabited very large areas. The Bantus and kindred tribes, after they had learned the elements of agricultural technique, had expanded into their lands.

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ETRUSCANS

by M. W. FREDERIKSEN

The view adopted here by Professor Pareti, who identified the ancestors of the Etruscans with the *terramara* or pile-dwellers of the Po valley, was based upon supposed resemblances of culture and has been radically criticized, especially by G. Säflund, *Le Terramare* (Uppsala, 1939), and the same applies to the views of earlier scholars for whom the *Terramara* people were the original Romans. It would now be generally agreed that the *Terramaricoli*, after invading the Po valley in about 1600 BC, attained only a local importance, being finally absorbed or dispersed after 1100 BC in the obscure period of transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron

Age. On the other hand, it is now clearer that the earliest Etruscan centres were those that developed in the south such as Caere, Tarquinii, or Veii; and that the signs of Etruscan occupation north of the Apennines were the result of a later expansion towards the Alps during the sixth century BC (see also pp. 72 ff.).

The archaeological culture of the Bronze Age came to an end about 1000 BC, and most scholars would agree that this was brought about by a series of invasions by peoples who cremated their dead. After an obscure period of some two centuries, there developed in central Italy a distinctive Iron Age or Villanovan culture, and it is from this that the Etruscan civilization began to emerge in the eighth century BC. At this time are found the first recognizably Etruscan remains, of pottery and bronzes, and after a short time the earliest inscribed objects. Although it is clear that trade began early and Greek vases appear in some quantity, there is no archaeological trace of an invasion or immigration at that date. Instead there is an unbroken continuity in pottery styles and funerary rites from the Villanovan to the Etruscan periods; and in certain sites, such as Tarquinii and Veii, recent studies suggest that the early defensive system and the civic topography, and therefore the rudiments of a city organization, originated also in the Villanovan period.

There is still little agreement about the origin of the Etruscan people; the most recent views have been collected by M. Pallottino in *Studi Etruschi* (1961), p. 3 ff. To some writers the language, which is clearly unrelated to the Italic languages in the rest of Italy, shows that the Etruscans were an indigenous race like the Ligurians; but the complete change in archaeological habits and the break in occupation after the Bronze Age make this improbable. Other scholars maintain that they were a northern invasion, pointing to the great affinities between early Villanovan objects and others found in central Europe and the Danube valley; but this can only concern their remote origins and tells us little. The view of Herodotus, who says that the Etruscans migrated from Lydia at a date about 1200 BC according to his reckoning, finds many supporters. The strongest arguments for an eastern origin are non-archaeological; first, an inscription from the Greek island of Lemnos contains a language which shows close external resemblances to Etruscan; second, that Etruscan religion is very similar in certain points to the astrology and divination practised in Babylonia. But the linguistic evidence is at least ambiguous; and unfortunately their religion is only known in its later phases and could be a feature introduced in Hellenistic times. Herodotus' account, therefore, can only be defended by supposing an invasion in a remote period, some five hundred years before the Etruscans as we know them appear; or else, at a later date, by assuming a peaceful diffusion or occupation by a ruling class such as to leave no trace in the archaeological remains. Either view seems possible, but neither really saves the credit of Herodotus, whose information about pre-historic migrations was at best vague.

Attempts to recover the racial composition of the Etruscans are likewise very uncertain. Ancient writers, indeed, suggest that throughout the Italian peninsula there was a considerable mixture of peoples and ethnic groups; this is confirmed by the variety of burial rites in several places, and in the remoter areas of the peninsula, such as the central Apennines and the foothills of the Alps, earlier habits lasted for some centuries after they were abandoned elsewhere. It may, therefore, be wasted labour to seek the racial derivations of the Etruscans or other Italic peoples. The latter, it is agreed, may be identified with the groups of invaders

of about 1000 BC who spread through Italy introducing the practice of cremation; but it is not yet possible to identify among them those who became the distinct peoples known to Greek and Roman writers of a later time.

The long debate about Etruscan origins, it may be said, is unlikely to be answered by a new discovery and is mainly concerned with the interpretation of already-known facts. Recent research, however, has shown that some older conceptions must be abandoned; the main development of this people certainly took place in Etruria itself, and the only problem is about their very remote origins, which is in comparison unimportant. Like the other Italic peoples, the Etruscans acquired their distinctive character comparatively recently, in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Their civilization, as it was known to ancient writers, seemed a strange one; but it was based economically upon the wealth in agriculture and bronze of Etruria; it had taken over much from the Villanovan culture that had preceded it; they absorbed much of artistic value from their early contacts with the Greeks; the growth of the great city-states of Etruria and their organization into a league with a religious centre near Volsinii is very like the history of the Greek states in the same period, and was influenced by the same political and cultural needs. The language will offer no certain answer until it is translated; it is not yet known whether it was spoken by a small ruling class who imposed it upon a subject population, just as Latin was spread by the Romans in Spain and Gaul, or whether it was an indigenous language which was then taken over by some foreign invaders, as occurred when the Normans conquered Sicily. Mommsen said that the origin of the Etruscans 'could not be known, and was not worth knowing'; since his day further research has reduced the number of possibilities but the question is still unanswered. It is therefore more important to realize how much they owed to their experiences in Italy and to the stimulus supplied by their relations with the Greeks, which were, on any view, the determining factors in the formation of the Etruscan people.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The short historical introductions, which come at the beginning of the work's three sections, make no pretence at providing, in a few pages, a complete conspectus of world history from the twelfth century BC to the fourth century AD. Their object is the more modest, yet indispensable, one of reminding the 'ordinary reader' of the main events which form the setting for the material in the succeeding chapters, these latter chapters being the real content of the book.
2. A shortcoming of this work is that social, political, and cultural phenomena are treated in isolation from one another. In a number of cases this leads to a complete failure to formulate, even in the form of hypotheses, the causes giving rise to particular phenomena, to the changes that took place in the social and political structure of various states, or to changes in the ideology of the inhabitants of these states. Thus, for example, in the 'Historical Introduction' to Part I the author unwarrantedly divorces political from social and economic history. The history of Greece after the Persian Wars is reduced to a chronicle of successive wars, and the internal conflict between advocates of oligarchy and advocates of democracy is attributed solely to differences over foreign policy.

Instead of an account of the complex history of Hellenism we are given a history of wars. But it is precisely in Greek history that we find the clearest evidence of the proposition that, as a rule, foreign policy is merely the product of the internal relations between

different social classes and groups. It is quite arbitrary to separate these two aspects. (K. M. Kolobova and E. M. Shtaerman.)

3. On Mitanni, the state established in northern Syria by the Hurri, see Sir Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind: Cultural and Scientific Development*, Volume I, Part 2, *The Beginnings of Civilization*, pp. 370, 383, 387-9 (hereinafter cited as *History of Mankind*, I-2).
4. To Homer, however, they are neighbours of the Trojans (see *Iliad*, III. 184 ff.); and if this reflects genuine folk-memory, the Phrygian settlement in Asia Minor should be dated to the thirteenth century BC at the latest. See Seton Lloyd, *Early Anatolia* (London, 1956), pp. 71 ff.
5. Professor Pareti here follows up a line of argument first brilliantly suggested by K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (ed. 2, Strasbourg, 1912), i.2.76 ff. Yet the Greek tradition of a 'Dorian invasion' (and of pre-Dorian Achaeans) is surprisingly unanimous, even as to dates—about two generations after the Trojan War, i.e. about 1100 BC, see N. Hammond, *A History of Greece* (Oxford, 1959), p. 653. The strength of the linguistic case against his own view was not fully known to Professor Pareti when he wrote: see note 15 to p. 68, below. But many scholars have also seen confirmation of the Greek tradition in the archaeological evidence for widespread destruction and disorder in post-Mycenaean Greece. See A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I (Oxford, 1945), p. 118.
- 5a. The process of linguistic development is never rectilinear. The author states the problem too categorically. It can be solved only by taking into consideration the data obtained through decipherment of the 'Linear B' script. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick understood by 'Achaean dialect' Arcadian and Cyprian, Pamphylian and Aeolic dialects, E. Risch (*Die Gliederung der griechischen Dialekte im neueren Sicht*, 1955), who took those findings into account, drew a contrast between the Arcadian and Cyprian and the Ionian dialects—the 'southern group'—on the one hand, and Aeolic, western Greek, and Doric—the 'northern group'—on the other. S. Ya. Lurye (*Yazyk i kultura mikenskoy Gretsii* [*Language and Culture in Mycenaean Greece*], Moscow-Leningrad, USSR Academy of Sciences, 1957), follows Chadwick, with some variations and modifications in the attribution of the dialects, but considers that the difference in the dialects (between Achaean and the others) was much greater in the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries than it was in the sixth-fifth centuries BC. In any case, although a number of questions are still debatable, the Doric dialect cannot be identified with Achaean, but on the contrary stands in contrast to it.

Besides this, the 'decisive arguments' on which Professor Pareti relies do not appear conclusive to Soviet scholars. In the areas of Achaean culture that were subjected to conquest by the Dorians the language must have become Doricized. The fact that Homer mentioned 'Dorians' on Crete can be plausibly explained by the Dorian invasion of Crete, which is confirmed by early archaeological evidence. In Homer's time these were matters of long ago. Homer's Crete cannot serve as a projection of the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. (K. M. Kolobova.)

6. Troy VII A (or Homer's Troy) is the late Bronze Age city which was destroyed by fire at the end of the period known as Late Mycenaean III B, i.e. in the late thirteenth century BC. It should be noted that Professor Pareti's chronology for the Aeolian and other trans-Aegean migrations places them a century or more before that accepted by many other scholars.
7. Note also in eighth-century texts the 'Iwn and Iamani (who may be the Ionians), and the 'qws (possibly once more the Akaiwasha or Achaeans).
8. Or perhaps, as Professor F. M. Heichelheim suggests, rather later than the events so far described.
9. On the Cimmerians, see further below, p. 63. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera questions whether they were nomads when they were ejected from south Russia.
10. Professor F. W. König would place the Libyan (Tehenu) invasion later than that of the sea raiders.

11. The first mercenaries, Ionians and Carians, arrived in the reign of Psammetichus I (663–609), and 'camps' were established at Daphnae in the eastern Delta and at Naucratis on a western arm of the Nile. Amasis (c. 569–526) concentrated all Greeks at Naucratis, which became an extremely flourishing centre of trade in this period and possessed several Greek temples.
12. I.e. the Assyrians. Professor F. W. König emphasizes the sharp difference between them and the Kassites: the latter had fully absorbed Babylonian culture. See below, p. 59.
13. As Professor F. W. König points out, however, there is no evidence of concerted action between these two kings.
14. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera points out that there are several other mentions of Phoenicians in Homer, and that (despite the arguments below, pp. 268 ff.) it is difficult to refer all of them to memories from Mycenaean times. Greek genealogies, too, surely reflect Phoenician contacts with the Greek homelands.
15. On the Khabiru or Habiru, whom many scholars identify with the Hebrews, but who (Professor König suggests) were not necessarily nomads, see *History of Mankind*, I–2, p. 393.
16. It is not of course implied that this Graeco-Lyidian *Koiné* was the result of colonization.
17. Professor K. M. Kolobova warns us against accepting any Malthusian theory of absolute overpopulation in Greece. Certainly the growth of Greek manufactures must not be overlooked in tracing the causes of Greek colonization, and there must also have been important political causes affecting many colonizing cities. But Professor Pareti undoubtedly meant to emphasize that the causes were very various.
18. Greek writers ascribed this 'synoecism' to Theseus, i.e. to one generation before the Trojan War. See C. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 34 ff.
19. The final fall of the kingship probably belongs to the eighth century. See Hignett, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.
20. For a fuller analysis of the causes of Greek tyranny, see pp. 165 ff.
21. Although tyranny at Sicyon outlasted that in most Greek cities, many modern writers would place its fall, which was probably brought about by Sparta, about 550 rather than 520: see N. Hammond, *Classical Quarterly*, N.S. VI (1956), p. 45. Professor Pareti's view is partly based on Beloch's chronology for seventh- and sixth-century Greece (see p. 277, n. 9): but there are other considerations in its favour: see F. Schachermeyr, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. 'Orthagoriden' (1942), col. 1430.
22. The view that Pheidon introduced coinage goes back to the historian Ephorus and has had strong supporters in modern times: see still N. Hammond, *A History of Greece* (Oxford, 1959), p. 132. But an important article by E. S. G. Robinson, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1951), pp. 156 ff. (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, pp. 1 ff.) puts the first coinage of Asiatic Greece as late as c. 620; and since it is generally agreed that Greek coinage began in Ionia, it cannot (if Robinson is right) have reached the Peloponnese in Pheidon's time. For Pheidon's date (floruit c. 670), see A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), pp. 31 ff., and for further discussion of coinage see notes to p. 138 below.
23. The origins and development of the Spartan constitution, and with it of the Spartan social system, are highly controversial questions. See bibliography in G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London, 1962).
24. Professor Ch. Th. Saricakis considers that Professor Pareti underestimates the bonds which united the Greek world by about 500 BC. A classic text is Herodotus, VIII, 144, where the Athenians speak of the ties of blood, language, religion, and customs, inescapably binding them to the other Greeks.
25. Professor Pareti has written two detailed works in refutation of these theories. See Appendix, Chapter I, pp. 49 ff.
26. Professor Pareti is here speaking of a period in the ninth century BC.

27. As Professor Ch. Th. Saricakis points out, the earliest Greek colony in the West was not on the Ionian Sea but at Cumae, just north of the Bay of Naples. See the geographer Strabo, V., p. 243.
28. The traditional date for the expulsion of the Tarquins is 510 BC.
29. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera would date the foundation of Phocaea's Spanish colonies somewhat later, in the early sixth century, i.e. after its foundation of Massilia which is traditionally dated 600 BC. See his article in *Nouvelle Clio* (1951), pp. 260-96.
30. Professor H. Michell questions the identification of Tartessus (at the mouth of the Baetis = Guadalquivir) with the biblical Tarshish, citing his note in *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 300. Yet Tyre's connections with Tartessus are attested also by an ancient source (Diodorus, V, 35): on the whole history of the site see A. Schulten, *Realencyclopaedie*, s.v. 'Tartessus', col. 2446.
31. The questions connected with Celtic and German migrations are discussed more fully in Chapter II, pp. 76 ff.
32. A village in Upper Austria where the earliest phase of Celtic culture was first identified by archaeologists. La Tène, which gave its name to the phases from c. 500 BC onwards, is in western Switzerland.
33. The modern view that the Belgae arrived at a later date is in conflict with the sources and cannot be accepted.
34. Professor F. M. Heichelheim emphasizes that from early La Tène days the mounts were horse-shoed.
35. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera considers that these people were Celts, and that such Etruscan features as can be seen in Catalonia could easily have derived from trade and other contacts. But he differs from Professor Pareti about the origins of the Etruscans—see Appendix.
36. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera believes that the only invasions of this period came over the western passes of the Pyrenees, though Catalonia naturally also had contacts with the Hallstatt civilization of southern France.
37. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera would place the foundation of the old city of Emporion c. 570-560, but the new city (with other settlements in north-east Spain) after the battle of Alalia (535), when refugees fled to Massilia and neighbouring parts. He thinks the extent of the Greek decline in the late sixth century has been exaggerated, and that Mainake (Malaga) was Greek until the fourth century.
38. A more usual view, as Professor F. W. König points out, is that the Persians entered a century and a half earlier than the Scyths and the Cimmerians. They gave their name to Barshua on Lake Urmia, but then pushed southward and settled on the north-eastern shores of the Persian Gulf. Cyrus the Great was the fourth of his house to be king of Anshan (or Anzan), the southern part of Elam east of Babylon and around the eventual Achaemenid capital Susa; for the way in which his house progressed to power over the whole Persian homeland, see *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV (1926), pp. 2 ff.
39. Indeed it was the Persians, rather than the Medes, who first settled in the country of the Mannei south of Lake Urmia. The Medes are derived from, or related to, the Manda south of the Caspian Sea, and Astyages, father-in-law of Cyrus, is called the ruler of Umman-Manda.
40. Both the Median origin and the date of Zoroaster are much disputed. In fuller discussion below (p. 229) Professor Pareti leans more towards a seventh-century date. The contrary view, which identifies Vishtaspa, Zoroaster's royal patron, with Hystaspes, father of Darius I (acceded 522 BC) is supported by E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World* (Princeton, 1947). The identification is strongly contested by A. R. Burn, *Persia and the West* (London, 1962), p. 70; but closely following R. C. Zaehner, *Zoroastrianism* (London, 1961), Mr Burn upholds the view that it was in the period of Cyrus' conquests (i.e. in the sixth century) that the religion first made itself felt.
41. Professor F. W. König questions the evidence for this statement.

42. These risings were extremely widespread, and included the Medes, Sacae, and Arachosii.
43. This view has been and continues to be strongly disputed. Despite some similarity of ideas and practices Zoroastrianism does not seem to have belonged to the Achaemenid world. The language (dialect is used in the Gāthā, the work of Zoroaster) is different from ancient Achaemenid Persian. The funerary ritual of the Achaemenids which included burial in tombs was disapproved of in Zoroastrianism where the rule was to abandon the dead to birds of prey. Cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman* (Paris, 1953), pp. 22 ff.
44. One must none the less remember the unrest which prevailed in many parts of the Persian empire, not least among its Greek cities; moreover, whether for economic, cultural, or political reasons, many mainland Greeks, led by the Spartans, reacted very early against the danger of incorporation into that empire.
45. These are linguistic terms, and not either ethnic or social. Many writers think that the Aryans did not force a complete language and religion on the 'Dravidians' and 'Munda', and furthermore that their own religion was influenced by the peoples settled before them; indeed this is indicated later on.
The theory that the Aryans, exposed to the influence of these peoples, reacted by constructing a rigidly compartmentalized social system, is controversial.
The division of mankind into four functional classes which is attested for the first time in the late *Rigveda* (X, 90, see Chapter IV, p. 352) applied not to local society but to all humanity, and the *śūdra*, who formed the humblest class, were drawn from the body of cosmic man on the same principle as the other classes although playing a less noble role. They are not regarded as a different race (see J. Filliozat, 'Les classes sociales de l'Inde', in G. Olivier, *Anthropologie des Tamouls de l'Inde du Sud*, Paris 1961, pp. vi ff.).
It is only in the classical *Dharmaśāstra*, and not in the pre-Buddhist period, that the division becomes rigid and is in theory based on birth. Birth in one class or another here still depends on acts committed in previous lives, and is not the result of racial origin.
46. However it should not be forgotten that the echoes of dynastic data which are preserved in the *Purāṇas* have already been attested by Megasthenes (end of the fourth century BC) as covering very many generations (Arrian, *Indica*, IX, 19).
47. The Dravidian, or at least non-Aryan, character of ideas such as metempsychosis, the theory of *Karma*, or the sanctity of the cow, has not been established. Their appearance in an India partially Aryanized by language and by respect for the *Veda* could as well have been due to the birth of new ideas as to an inheritance from the non-Aryan elements of whose primitive ideas we possess no information, and to whom we cannot automatically attribute all the ideas which do not appear common to the Indo-Europeans.
48. Although it is not yet clear to scholars how, when, and from where ancient China obtained horse-drawn chariots, technically well adapted for warfare, there is no reason to suppose that their appearance was the prime cause of the formation of a governing class of warriors and the origin of a feudal state. This process was much more complex. (K. M. Kolobova and L. S. Vasilyev.)

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGES AND WRITING SYSTEMS TO 500 BC

THE fortunes of individual languages have depended upon the march of historical events, especially those which have altered the physical contacts between different peoples. Sometimes a people whose language is homogeneous has continuously occupied the same area over a long period, without receiving immigrants and with few outside contacts. In this case two things can happen. Either some sections in the course of time evolve dialects which are different from those of their neighbours: this happens particularly when trade between the different sections is impeded by mountain or water barriers. Or alternatively regional differences get obliterated because the dialect of one section asserts its mastery over others, for instance when it develops a literature which commands imitation and acts as a unifying and stabilizing force.¹

On the other hand the area occupied by a people of more or less homogeneous speech is sometimes pervaded by one or more races, whose language may be either allied or utterly different. A number of possible consequences can follow. If the newcomers destroy the majority of their predecessors or reduce the survivors to slavery (the women may of course be forced into marriage with their masters), then the language of the original inhabitants will tend to disappear, though the language of the new population will still feel some effects from it. If, however, the bulk of the primitive population is allowed to survive, then the outcome will depend on the relative numbers of the various races, on the political and cultural worth of each, and on their disposition to amalgamate with others or to keep themselves distinct. The language of the original inhabitants will either give way gradually to that of the newcomers, or combine with it, or possibly obtain the mastery; or again it may become simply the language of racial and linguistic 'pockets', for example in mountainous or outlying zones used as a refuge by the indigenous people against the invaders; or, as a final possibility, it may attain equality, and then the country, at least at certain social levels, becomes genuinely bilingual.

But changes in language, and hybrid formations, and the complete or partial adoption of bilingual habits, do not arise only in the straightforward cases when a people settles, as the result of migrations, in territory already occupied by a people of different race. When a people falls under the political domination of another, or is outnumbered by its neighbours, it may be compelled, up to a point at least, to adopt the other's language in its official

acts; and it thus, at least to some extent, becomes bilingual.² Or again, it may of its own accord, to further trade relations, adopt in part the language of another people which enjoys a favoured or monopoly position against it in commercial matters. A final instance arises when a people is starting a literature of its own and takes the existing output of another people as its model. The accompanying effects in the linguistic field will be obvious, varying from a simple amalgamation between the languages of the copiers and the copied, to the complete adoption by the former of the literary language of the latter, in which case the former's language sinks to the status of a dialect.

I. THE FORMATION OF THE PRINCIPAL LANGUAGES

a. *The Indo-European Languages*

Comparative philology has clearly shown three things: (1) the so-called Indo-European languages were once, in their earliest forms, dialects, differentiated one from another; they were spoken by peoples who, to whatever racial group they belonged from the anthropological standpoint, lived next door to one another over a territory which, though vast, was none the less limited; (2) the peoples in question had almost all reached the same levels of civilization; and (3) when numerous successive migrations led the Indo-European peoples to split up, their speech tended to grow gradually more diverse, partly through their own action and partly because of contacts with other forms of speech.

Similarities of vocabulary and pronunciation can be detected between the Indo-European and the Semitic, Hamitic, and Ugro-Finnish languages; and the Indo-Europeans have certain less important points in common with languages of different types, such as Sumerian, Altaic, Georgian and so on. Scholars have therefore believed that they can reconstruct earlier stages, each more ancient than the last, and each followed by the separation of a creative racial group, which then differentiated itself from the main body. But it seems more likely that most of the similarities in question go back to less ancient times and are the result of influences brought to bear on individual Indo-European languages, in the course of their history, by races of different speech: sometimes Indo-European elements have passed into foreign tongues, sometimes the reverse process has occurred.

The primitive homes of the Indo-Europeans, before their dispersal, are not easy to identify. They were still semi-nomadic, and must therefore have moved around; moreover, since individual groups branched off at varying dates, we must suppose that some maintained a common home after others had left. Probably therefore there was a succession of movements, starting in central Asia, to the zone north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus;³ here the Persians put their *Ajryana Vaejo*, 'the home of the Aryans' (by which they meant the people we call Indo-Iranians).⁴

Linguistic features and relationships show how the Indo-European nucleus was first split into two main sections, with perhaps others of less importance lying between. At any rate in the earliest period, most peoples of the first section tended to move west and south-west, those of the second east and south-east. These two groups used once to be called the *centum* and the *satem* groups, from the different ways they spoke the word for 'hundred'. But when the two sections spread out fanwise there must have been overlapping in some districts. This can be proved by the presence of some western-group languages in the East, such as the languages called Kuchean and Agnean in central Asia, or neo-Hittite (and later Galatian) in Anatolia. The fact is that the long-drawn-out Indo-European migrations, which lasted from the beginning of metals to the Late Middle Ages, were a series of separate waves and pushes, one people following another into a district or taking up where its ancestors had left off; and their routes were complex, as can be seen, for example, in the Cimbric and Teuton wanderings at the end of the second century B.C.

The eastern or 'Aryan' group may be taken to comprise the peoples who spoke Indic dialects (Old Indic, Median, Scythian, and Middle Indic), with all the sub-species which will be mentioned in Parts II and III and the dialects of India. The western group on the other hand included the dialects of neo-Hittite, Phrygian, Greek, Illyrian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic and others.⁵

When the two Indo-European groups separated, they must already have known some kinds of metal, for their languages use kindred terms for what is sometimes copper, sometimes bronze, and sometimes iron (*Old Ind.* *ayas*; *Avest.* *ayo*; *Lat.* *aes*; *Goth.* *aiz*; *O.E.* *ar*; *O.H.G.* *er*). This shows that their earliest migrations cannot have preceded the Copper or Chalcolithic Age.

The evidence which has come down to us for the first periods of individual Indo-European dialects is relatively late: only for neo-Hittite and Graeco-Mycenaean can we go back to the middle of the second millennium. The first Indo-Indic, Italic, and Old Phrygian texts belong to the first millennium B.C. For all other dialects our earliest texts come from the periods of Christian and Buddhist propaganda: for Albanian this means the fifteenth, for Lettish and Lithuanian the sixteenth centuries A.D.

Diffusion into Anatolia, Persia, and India. The first contacts between the Indo-Europeans and the peoples of Anatolia go back to at least the beginning of the second millennium, the time when the new conquerors became masters of the 'Hattic' country and its capital Hattusas (Boğazköy). By generous introduction of Indo-European elements they transformed the country's language from palaeo-Hittite, a pre-Indo-European tongue, to neo-Hittite, which is similar to Indo-European languages in the western group. The same migratory movement must have been responsible for the

'mixed' features in other languages. In Anatolia, for example, we have clear evidence of pre-Indo-European background and of the additions made from Indo-European sources. In particular there are the Luvian texts from the nearer parts of southern Asia Minor, and the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs of Cilicia and northern Syria, datable to the period between the fourteenth and eighth centuries BC: these last were deciphered by means of the bilingual inscription, in Hittite hieroglyphs and Phoenician letters, which was recently discovered at Karatepe.

Where, however, Semitic peoples had not succeeded in taking permanent possession in Anatolia and Mesopotamia, and before the entry there of small warrior groups of eastern type, there still flourished in most districts a set of people to whom we shall give the name 'Asiatic': their language was related to proto-Hittite. This is hypothesis rather than confident assertion, for our knowledge of these people is scanty: for some of them, admittedly, we have only nomenclature (Paphlagonian, Lycaonian, Cilician, etc.), and others have writings that are not easily decipherable: only for a few do we possess texts in cuneiform or alphabetic scripts.

The following Asiatic peoples deserve special mention:

(a) The *Chaldeans* were a pre-Indo-European people of Armenia, the Urartu of Assyrian sources: some modern writers call them Alarodians, following Herodotus (VII, 79), or Vannic because they lived near Lake Van. They have left about 200 inscriptions in cuneiform script, datable between the ninth century and the year 640 BC when they were made subject to the Assyrians. Bilingual texts in Chaldean and Assyrian made it possible to decipher their language,⁶ which seems to have been akin to that of the next people.

(b) The *Hurrians*, who were called Subartu or Mitanni by the Assyrians, and lived between Syria, Mesopotamia, and the region of Kirkuk. They were earlier dominated by overlords of Indo-European race (see below) but later fell at the hands of the Assyrians.

Farther east are found:

(c) The *Elamites*, who lived in present-day Zagros, Luristan and Kuzistan, around their capital Susa, which gave them the name of Susiani. Their documents range from the third millennium to the fourth century BC, the very numerous tablets found at Persepolis being of the Achaemenid period.

(d) The *Kassites* or Kossaei, who lived in Zagros and have left texts of the period between the sixteenth and tenth centuries. Of them we have spoken in our historical introduction: at one time they were apparently ruled by Indo-European princes.⁷

The texts written by these eastern Asiatic peoples may well reflect the first south-eastward penetration by the Indo-Europeans of the Indo-Iranic (or Aryan) group. For especially in Hurrian and Kassite documents⁸ of the

fifteenth century BC we meet names of kings and gods with a clearly Indo-Iranic or Indian ring. This seems to show that during the Indo-Iranic trek towards the homes they occupied in historical times some of their armed parties succeeded in conquering the Asianic peoples and remaining as their rulers.

The region from which these 'Aryans' came before their movement south-eastward seems to be indicated by the presence of other peoples of the same Indo-Iranic type farther north, living in the Dnieper basin and on the steppes north of the Caucasus. These are the Scyths or Sarmatians—the Śaka of the ancient Persians. They are divided by Herodotus (IV, 18–19) into Cultivators and Nomads.

The Iranian tribes must have moved in many waves, one after another: at any rate they were divided into groups with different dialects even before they appeared on the high ground east of Mesopotamia. All we know of the Median language comprises a few glosses and proper names, handed down by the Persians and the Greeks. In Old Persian, however, we have a substantial number of texts, since it became the official language of the Achaemenid kings. This was the dialect of Persia, which corresponds to the south-western portion of Iran; and it also preserved some influences of more northerly dialects. We possess also some trilingual texts, in Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. Nevertheless Persian found difficulty in getting established as the official language of the Middle East; and in the long run the Achaemenids had to have recourse to Aramaic for this purpose (see pp. 89, 195).

By the side of imperial Persian is found another form of literary Iranian, which apparently originated not in Media but in eastern districts, and which was used for religious writings. These were eventually in the Sassanid period collected in the *Avesta*, but were considerably contaminated in the copying: the fragments which preserve a more ancient language, going back to the tenth century BC, are the verses (*Gāthā*) believed to represent the preaching of Zarathustra. The hymns (*yašt*) and moral precepts (*vidēvdat*) which compose the *Avesta* proper are of more recent date.

Languages in India. In India today there are three main families of language, which are, in their order of importance, Indo-European, Dravidian, and Munda. Behind the present picture, however, lies a dynamic period of most intense linguistic exchange, not yet entirely over. The existence of Aryan languages certainly results from an immigration at the dawn of history.⁹ On the other hand it is uncertain which of the other two families arrived first: couched in these terms the question is insoluble. Indeed nothing precise can be said about the relative position of the two non-Aryan families in this early period, since ancient sources are completely lacking. The first Tamil texts do not go back beyond the beginning of our era, while the Munda languages have never been literary and 'oral' texts were first collected in the

last century. Place-names in the Sanskrit texts provide useful material, but are not adequate for the generalizations which have been made. One cannot emphasize too strongly how insecurely founded these generalizations are.

The Munda family, probably but not certainly related to the Mon-Khmer group, originally occupied a very wide territory, but today it is in full decline. It is confined to linguistic pockets isolated and surrounded by Indo-European and Dravidian tongues. The largest nucleus is composed of the Khuwari languages (Santali, Mundari, and Ho) between Orissa, Bihar, and Bengal. The Munda dialects have become the language of backward peoples, outside the main lines of communication, and have never, in historical times, formed a means of civilization. Even their influence on Sanskrit vocabulary and on place-names, which Przyluski and Lévi believed was very significant, is now usually stated in more modest terms.

The Dravidian languages even today remain completely isolated, and attempts to link them with other families have been fruitless. They too in antiquity occupied a much larger area than they do now: at the beginning of history and in historical times they were pushed farther and farther southward by the Indo-Aryan group, until the present linguistic picture took shape. Today the Dravidian languages form a compact mass covering the extreme south of India and the greater part of the Deccan. Various linguistic pockets are scattered here and there, almost up to the banks of the Ganges; and a substantial isolated nucleus is formed by the Brahui dialect, though this is somewhat diverging and is markedly influenced in its vocabulary by the Iranian languages. Brahui is spoken by about 200,000 persons in Baluchistan; and it is hard to say whether it represents a survival, on the periphery, of a very large Dravidian area, or results from a late migration in an opposite direction. At any rate there is no anthropological affinity between the Brahui, whose somatic type is Iranian, and the Dravidas of south India. The theory of P. Heras, which made the carriers of the Indus culture speak a 'proto-Dravidian' language, has not yet received confirmatory evidence and has never been accepted outside India. The various Dravidian languages, literary and other, will be dealt with in Part III.

About the middle of the second millennium BC there descended into India across the passes of the Afghan frontier certain tribes who spoke an Indo-European language of the Indo-Iranic group, which we call Indian. This language and its derivatives gradually gained a foothold, by conquest or by diffusion, in the basin of the Indus—and also in that of the Ganges, although for a long time Bengal was regarded as a frontier zone whose Aryanism was doubtful. At the end of this period the Aryan languages seem to have extended south of the Vindhya mountains and begun their penetration into the Deccan. The first hymns of the *Rigveda*, the final collection of which seems to go back to the beginning of the first millennium, show us a language (Vedic Sanskrit) which is still closely related to Old Iranian: the relationship often amounts almost to identity. It is a language of the 'analytical' type,

very richly inflected; but it is already a mixed language, being based on a north-western dialect with marked borrowings from dialects of regions farther east. Vedic Sanskrit was a priestly language, with its form fixed immutably in the sacred *Vedas*; yet it was able to evolve to some extent in minor religious writings, and the stage it had reached at the end of this period was rather more advanced.

The result was Classical Sanskrit, which at the outset was a language exclusively for the priests, but later had secular usages. It was in part an artificial language, spoken by particular social classes rather than by particular regions; and it was very soon codified and fixed for eternity by the Indian grammarians. By the side of Sanskrit, which was employed in the whole domain of the Aryans, there developed early the various regional languages, the Prakrits. They are derived not from Sanskrit, but from a proto-Vedic, or even pre-Vedic stage. They were spoken by the vast majority of the Aryan population, and were used earlier than Sanskrit for secular literature. But Prakrit writing proper is attested only in the ensuing period.

This is not the place to speak of the very numerous fragments of minor languages which are scattered here and there, especially on the slopes of the Himalaya and in Assam: the latter region is a real museum of languages. Mention must however be made of the Tibeto-Burman family, which is now confined to the Himalayan valleys but was once widespread. The influence of the Tibeto-Burman substratum is felt still today in place-names and even in certain linguistic peculiarities of Bengal.

b. *The Role of the Thraco-Phrygians*

While the peoples of central and eastern Anatolia were undergoing the effects of two earlier general movements of migration, the one belonging to the western section, the other Aryan, two later and less general penetrations were proceeding, side by side, in western Anatolia, which faces towards the Aegean Sea. Both were Indo-European, the Phrygians and the Greeks, as will be seen below.

The Thracians spoke an Indo-European language, perhaps one belonging to the eastern group; but apart from a short inscription of the fifth century BC, from Ezerovo in Bulgaria, we know nothing of it save glosses and proper names. According to Herodotus (V, 3) they were the most numerous people on earth after the Indians. Their penetration into the Balkans was probably responsible for the final southward movements of the Greeks, but they in their turn were pressed from behind by the Illyrians. So after gathering in mass in the districts adjoining the Black Sea, including that to the north of the Danube where their kinsmen the Getae (called Dacians by the Romans) were settled, a part crossed the Hellespont under the name of Brygians. They came in waves over more than one period, the last coinciding with the Cimmerian invasions (Strabo, XII, p. 586); and when they had found a home

in Anatolia in the country which once belonged to the Asianic Ascani, they gave rise to the people called Phrygian. Of them we possess two series of inscriptions, although only the older, called Palaeo-Phrygian and belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries BC, is of concern to this first section of our history (the neo-Phrygian series is of the third and fourth centuries AD). In some Palaeo-Phrygian epigraphy the influence of Greek is evident, deriving from contact with the Hellenic colonists (see Chapter I).

Not a few of the Asianic peoples in this western Anatolian country were subjected to new racial admixtures; and they felt the effects of the Indo-European languages spoken by their Phrygian and Greek neighbours and by other less determinate Indo-European groups. Yet they preserved the original Anatolian basis of their speech, which seems to have been in part connected with the language of the pre-Hittites and kindred peoples, in part with that of the Minoans of the Aegean islands. The following such people are known: (a) the Maeones of Homer, who in classical times are called Lydians. We know about fifty inscriptions of this people, belonging to the fourth century BC, which have been partially deciphered with the aid of a bilingual text in Lydian and Aramaic; (b) the Mysians farther north. They spoke a hybrid tongue, which made the ancients wonder whether to associate them with the Phrygians or the Lydians (Xanthus in Strabo, XII, p. 572). This hybrid character appears also on the inscription found at Uyujik; (c) the Carians to the south, Homer's 'barbarophonoi'. From them have come down some inscriptions and graffiti of mercenaries who served in Egypt in the seventh and sixth centuries, and also some later texts of the fourth century BC. Some of these are bilingual, in Carian and Greek, but have not yet been completely deciphered; (d) the Termiloi or Milyai, also called Lycians (a name already attested in the form Lukki by the Tell el Amarna documents of the fourteenth century), for whom Herodotus (I, 173) suggested a racial link with the ancient Cretans. From them we possess about 180 inscriptions of the fifth to fourth centuries BC, some of them lengthy and one a bilingual text in Lydian and Greek, and also legends on coins. Two phases of their language can be detected, of which the earlier phase is attested by a famous stele of Xanthus; (e) the Pisidians, to whom should probably be attributed a collection of short and late inscriptions of imperial times, found at Sofular; these mainly consist only of proper names, but there are evident Phrygian features.

Even after the entry of the Phrygians and Greeks western Anatolia was the objective of other attempted migrations. They covered the whole area, but fell particularly on the west, under the Cimmerians, and on the east under the Armenians.

The Cimmerians (called Gimirrai by the Assyrians and Gomer in the Bible), together with the Tauri were probably Indo-Europeans of Aryan type. Their home, already mentioned in *Odyssey*, XI, 14 ff., was in south Russia, where the name Cimmerian Bosphorus (Herodotus, IV, 11) is still

recalled in the modern Crimea. But with their linguistic cousins the Scythians at their backs—this explains why the Sacae of the Persians came to be called Gimirri¹⁰—they precipitated themselves upon Asia Minor and plundered it repeatedly in the eighth–seventh centuries BC.

These Cimmerian invasions, together with the ruin of the Chalds of the Lake Van area under the blows delivered by the Assyrians (640 BC), were very probably the factors which made possible another migration by Indo-Europeans of the Aryan group, the Armenians (*Arminiya* in Darius' Persian inscriptions). A tradition recorded by Herodotus connects this people with the Thracians, and makes them colonists of the Phrygians. Already at the end of the seventh century they must have occupied the country of the Chalds, which was subsequently called Armenia; but they did not destroy the indigenous population, whom they governed from the position of a ruling class. This state of affairs can be seen in a reasonable number of Armenian texts which have come down to us. They are too late (ninth century AD) to allow a detailed study of the primitive condition of the language. But they do show the dominant influence of two other forms of speech: the pre-Aryan language of the Chalds,¹¹ and the Iranic language spoken by the Persians and later by the Parthians, in whose sphere the Armenians were to live for centuries to come.

c. Illyrian Peoples and Dialects

The Illyrians, an Indo-European people—though whether of eastern, western, or intermediary type is not clear—must have begun their penetration of the north-western Balkans at latest in the fourteenth century BC. They pushed the Thracians southward and eastward, and this blow reverberated on the Greeks, who were driven in the same directions. Direct evidence of their language is very scanty, being confined to an extremely brief inscription from Scutari in Albania and to proper names. But for a long time it was believed that the vocabulary and pronunciation of modern Albanian (whose earliest written documents go back to the fifteenth century AD) could, when stripped of all modern borrowings from Greek, Latin, Venetian, Turkish, Slav and so on, reveal to us a purely Illyrian core. Not a few modern writers, however, think that Albanian in isolation cannot help us finally in the reconstruction of ancient Illyrian; for Albanian itself is derived from a mixture of Illyrian and Thracian. This may possibly account for the difference between the so-called ancient colonies of the Illyrians in Italy:¹² the Venetic colonies would give us the true northern Illyrian language, and those of Apulia and Messapia the hybrid southern dialect, which was a mixture between Thracian and Illyrian.

Of the dialect of the ancient Veneti we possess, apart from proper names, about 200 brief inscriptions written in the North Etruscan alphabet of the fourth to first centuries BC. But occupation of the Venetian district of Italy

goes back at latest to the beginning of the Iron Age, when the characteristic 'Atestine' civilization had its rise. That the Veneti were Illyrian is stated explicitly by Herodotus (I, 196) and Polybius (II, 17), the latter of whom says their speech was different from that of the Celts though their civilization was similar. It may therefore well be that, like the Liburni near the Aternus in Picenum (who bring to mind the Liburnians in Illyricum; Pliny, *N.H.*, III, 110, 112), the Veneti were also of Illyrian origin but in Italy had mixed with the indigenous pre-Indo-European people of the two regions they inhabited; the latter were the Euganei and North Etruscans (later joined by the Celts) in the Veneto, and the Asyli in Picenum. It is not clear whether the Liburni and the survivors from among their predecessors the Asyli, were responsible for the so-called 'pre-Sabellian' inscriptions of the Adriatic coast.

A number of other peoples whose Illyrian origin is attested also came from the Balkans, but arrived by sea before the Greek colonization of Tarentum. Their names were Daunians (cf. Festus, *Epit.* 69 M), Peucetians (Pliny, III, 102), Salentini (Probus on Virgil, *Ecl.* VI, 31; Festus, 329) and Messapii (Nicander in *Antonius Liberalis*, 31). Together they are called Iapyges, a name already associated by Hecataeus with that of the Iapodes across the Adriatic. Their proper names and the 200 surviving inscriptions have allowed a convincing set of comparisons between them and the early nucleus of peoples in Albania. They probably came from the southern part of Illyricum, where admixture with Thracian races was more noticeable.

d. *Greek Peoples and Dialects: the Literary Language*

Since, as we said earlier, the Indo-Europeans before they separated already possessed some knowledge of metal, the oldest periods of Stone Age civilization attested in Hellas must beyond doubt be the work not of the Greeks, but of indigenous people who preceded them. Classical writers, mainly on the strength of wild deductions from place-names, used to give accounts of the ancient races they assumed to have inhabited the Greek peninsula, such as the Pelasgians, the Leleges, the Carians and so on. These accounts have very little value; but to prove the existence of pre-Greeks there is, in addition to inferences based on archaeology, certain evidence worth recording. In fully classical times groups of non-Greeks were still living, and speaking non-Hellenic languages, in parts of the islands of Crete, Carpathos, and Cyprus; and in the Greek vocabulary are found many names of gods, animals, and vegetables which are characteristic of the country but of obvious non-Greek etymology. Moreover a large number of people and places in Greece of historical times have names which do not admit of Greek etymologies, their roots and terminations being apparently similar to Asianic names.

We possess important literary records of the pre-Greek inhabitants of Crete (the Eteo-Cretans). There are, for example, numerous tablets and

seals—as well as an inscribed discus—found mainly at Knossos and Mallia, and incised either with special hieroglyphic characters or with a linear script; there is an Egyptian medical papyrus of about 1500 BC, which records the formula of an oath taken by the Keftiu, i.e. the Cretans; and there are several inscriptions of the sixth century BC, found at Praisos, on which the alphabet is Greek but the language not.

From the pre-Greek inhabitants of Cyprus we possess eight brief inscriptions, probably of the fourth century BC, which are written in syllabic script (see also below, p. 91) and in a language which is commonly called 'Cypro-Mycenaean'. They have not yet been deciphered, although one is a bilingual with a Greek text beside the other language.

The Greeks conquered these pre-Greek populations, but did not destroy them completely. We can only partially determine how far they influenced the physical, moral, and intellectual qualities of the Greek peoples, in the peninsula or in the colonial world; but such evidence as we have suggests that the effect upon their usages and customs, including their language and religion, was significant. The Greeks, like others, arrived in many waves, and did not subject all these peoples together in a brief period of time: the peninsula had been occupied by the invaders for centuries at a time when the indigenous peoples were free inhabitants of the Aegean islands and of the Asiatic coasts. It was only in the fifteenth to fourteenth centuries that the 'Minoan' kingdoms of Crete went down and new Graeco-Mycenaean states were constructed in their place, while the first Greek cities on the Asiatic coasts were being founded. It was not until c. 1000 BC that Greek colonists arrived to settle in Cyprus;¹³ and the Hellenic colonizing movement had still to establish itself in the following centuries in all the directions it took, on the shores of the Hellespont, the Euxine, Ionia, the Tyrrhenian Sea and so on.

When this Greek colonization took place, the various parties of colonists took with them dialects which were already very different from one another. For the varieties which existed of old, at the time when the many waves of Greeks had entered the Hellenic peninsula, had continually grown more diverse owing to the contours of the country, divided as it was into so many almost isolated portions.

These more ancient and basic differences allow the classification of Greek dialects under three heads, each one of which has two subdivisions: Ionic, including Attic and Ionic proper; Aeolic, of which the northern subdivision comprises Thessalian and Boeotian, and the southern is typified by Arcadian; and Doric, as spoken by north-west Greece and by the outlying districts of the Peloponnese.

Attic was spoken in Attica; the Ionic dialects in the island of Euboea, in the northern Cyclades, in the colonies of Ionia and Chalcidice, in several Euxine colonies, and in the colonies sent by Phocaea and Chalcis to the West. Attic differs from Ionic in using $\tau\tau$ for $\sigma\sigma$, forming the genitive in $-\sigma\upsilon$ instead of $-\epsilon\omega$, writing $\acute{\omega}\nu$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\xi\upsilon\nu$ for $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ and retaining the aspirate.

The northern Aeolic dialects were spoken in Thessaly and Boeotia, and also in the colonial areas of Lesbos and of Aeolis in Asia, where initially the speech must have been intermediate between Thessalian and Boeotian. There are characteristic analogies between them and the southern Aeolic (Arcadian, and its Cypriot and Pamphylian derivatives), but characteristic differences too. In addition each of the two Aeolic groups has features, but different features, in common with Attic.

The north-western Doric dialects belonged to Epirus, Locris, Phthiotis, Aetolia, and Acarnania, to which Achaea and Elis were added in classical times: southern Doric was spoken in the Argolid, Laconia, and classical Messenia, in Crete, Melos, Thera, and Cyrene, in Rhodes and the colonies of Asiatic Doris, and in the Dorian colonies of the West (founded by Achaea, Corinth, Megara, Rhodes, Crete, etc.). The two kinds of Doric have features in common, but both also have features in common with the Aeolic dialects.

Both the geographical distribution of the Greek dialects, and the influence one group had on another, were undoubtedly affected by the form taken by the migrations and by the history of the relations between the groups. It seems certain that the first to enter Greece were the peoples of Ionic and Attic speech, who subsequently kept possession of Attica and Euboea. They were followed by the Aeolians, whose northern and southern subdivisions adjoined one another for a short time in early days. The greater antiquity of these two migrations conforms well with the claim of both the Attic and the Arcadian people to be autochthonous; and the fact that the Cypriot and Pamphylian colonies were Arcadian seems to show that at one time the Arcadians had an outlet to the Aegean, which would mean that the whole Peloponnese was occupied by southern Aeolians.

The third and comparatively late migration, by the Doric-speaking Greeks, came therefore in several stages. From north-western Greece they infiltrated eastward, broke the link between Thessalians and Boeotians, and shut the Ionians into Attica, reducing their area to that district alone. They thus prompted the emigration of the Aeolians who occupied Lesbos and whose speech is precisely intermediate between Thessalian and Boeotian; and the remnant of the Ionians went to colonize the Cyclades and the central coast of western Anatolia. Their second stage carried the Dorians into the Peloponnese, where very gradually they wrested from the southern Aeolians all the coastal districts. This led to a colonizing movement by the Arcadians, but only their farthest foundations, those in Pamphylia and Cyprus, were able to survive. The zones between, namely the lower Aegean and the south-western coast of Asia Minor, were recolonized by the Dorians, in the third stage of their migrations.

The date of the Dorian migration still continues to be disputed among modern scholars.¹⁴ Some accept the statements in ancient writers according to which it was 'after the Trojan Wars' that the Dorians entered Greece and conquered the Achaeans; they consequently put this migration after

c. 1200 B.C. Others, including the present writer, maintain that the name Achaeans was originally the ethnic name of the peoples who spoke Doric, and that they then in part discarded it for the new name of Dorians. For all the 'Achaeans' of classical times spoke Doric dialects; and the name Dorians, which started in Asia Minor, gradually spread from there to Crete and the Peloponnese. This school therefore dates the Dorian migration some centuries before 1200 B.C. We shall be able to choose between the two views with greater confidence when full use has been made of the recent discovery that certain fourteenth-century texts from Crete, Mycenae, Asine, and Pylos, in the 'Minoan Linear B' script, are in Greek. Only if it be shown that every one of these is in Aeolic could we still believe that the Dorian migration took place only after the fourteenth century; if part turns out to be Aeolic and part Doric, the opposite view is proved.¹⁵

The Greek dialects, already diversified in the peninsula, naturally became still more diverse in the colonies. Every colony was of mixed population through having been a refuge for emigrants from various parts; and all had their contacts with the natives. As an example of the latter process we can see from the fragments of Epicharmus, and from other evidence, that a number of native Sicilians found their way into Syracusan territory. As regards the mixing of Greek races we must remember that when a Greek colony was called Corinthian (for example), this simply meant that the Corinthian element had gained the upper hand there. This state of affairs was not necessarily permanent, for in some Chalcidian (i.e. Ionian) colonies the Dorian element predominated later: Himera is a case in point. The same happened in Asia Minor, at Smyrna and Phocaea, the Ionian character of which is of relatively late date.

Almost all these Greek dialects were not only spoken, but were written in literary texts and on inscriptions. Indeed in the early days of Greek literature every writer made use of his own dialect, though he might ennoble its forms and borrow features from other dialects. Thus we can still catch a glimpse of an early Epic in Aeolic dialect; on its model the Homeric Epic was later developed in Ionia, and presents us with Ionic contaminated with many forms copied from Aeolic. In a later period the language of the Elegiac poets (Callinus, Mimnermus and Phocylides) was founded on Ionic, as was that of the Iambic writers (Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax), of the lyric poet Anacreon, of the first didactic writers and philosophers, and of the first historians and geographers. A language based on Aeolic was used by the Lesbian poets Alcaeus and Sappho; the language of Alcman, Tyrtaeus, and Philoxenus of Cythera had a Laconian base,¹⁶ that of Corinna a Boeotian, that of Telesilla an Argolic, and that of Epicharmus a Syracusan. As for the Attic dialect, it served the needs of the Athenian writers, their tragedians, comedians, orators, and historians.

Later, however, a particular district in which some form of literature had been born might attain great cultural prestige, or the dialect of an important

area might spread outside its original boundaries. When that happened, writers would use, in some or all of their works, not their own dialect but a distorted and contaminated form of another one, just because that other had been elevated to be a language of literature. In this way the bards of Ionia, in imitating those who wrote in Aeolic, had created a language which was a cross between Aeolic and Ionic, the language of Homer, and this was later used not only for Epic, but for Elegy and Epigram; indeed it had its influence on the language of almost every literary genre. Similarly the Doric language of the ancient choral songs was taken up again for the choruses of Tragedy, even by non-Doric writers. In the course of the seventh and sixth centuries three literary languages were formed in the three areas of Greece which had the greatest cultural and political development, those of Ionia, the Peloponnesian League, and the West; and all three languages were disseminated at the same time. (Map V.) The first was based on Ionic, and was used by Herodotus and the first prose writers; the other two were more or less Doric, one employed in Greece proper (cf. Pindar and Bacchylides), the other in the West (cf. the two poets called Stesichorus, and later Epicharmus and Archimedes).

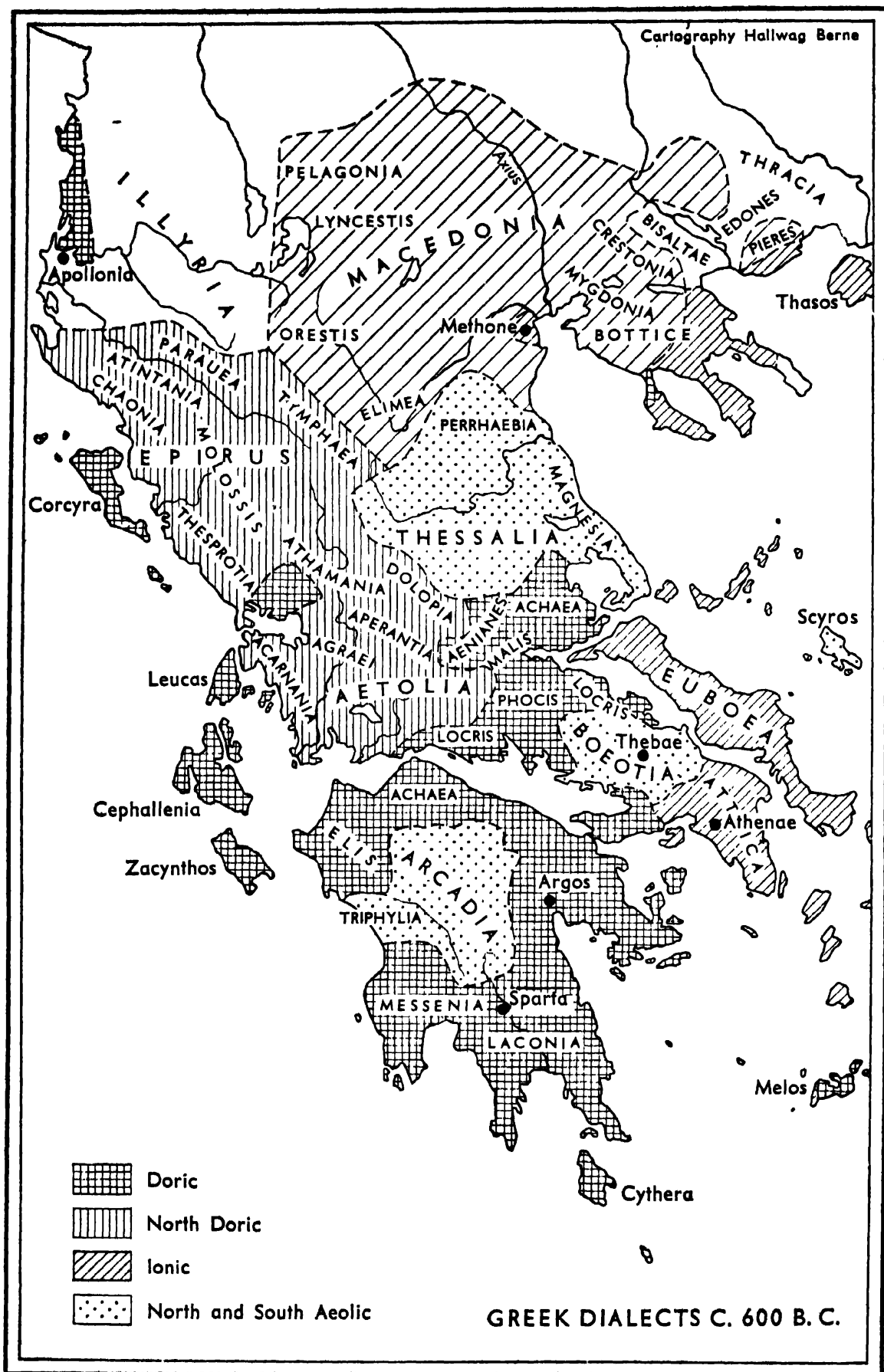
Only after the age of Pericles, which we shall treat in Part II, did Attic gain its supremacy, with a *koiné* which was used in almost every part of Greece.

e. *The Two Groups of 'Italic' Dialects*

Just as we can distinguish chronologically and linguistically a series of several migrations of Greeks into Hellas, so too there were separate invasions of Italic type Indo-Europeans into the peninsula of Italy. The first wave of migrants, whom we call the 'First Italici', had a language between Latin and Siculan, and practised inhumation exclusively. They must have spread over a very wide area, but they later lost a large part of it when new peoples arrived. At a period earlier than the sixth to fifth centuries, before the last phases of the migration of the 'Second Italici', various groups of First Italici could be clearly identified in the district extending from Latium north of the Tiber down to central Sicily.

In Latium and adjacent districts we still possess written testimony for these people from an archaic period. For the Falisci there are numerous epigraphic texts, markedly affected by Etruscan influence, as far back as the fourth century. For the Latins the famous inscription on a *fibula* takes us back to the seventh century at Praeneste; and at Rome we reach at least the sixth with the well-known '*cippus* of the Forum',¹⁷ found under the Lapis Niger, and the inscribed vase discovered under the Quirinal which goes by name of Duenos.

For their kinsmen, however, the Hernici of the Trerus valley, there are no records. Farther south, in the lower reaches of the Liris in the district



MAP V

of Terracina, the Ausones and Aurunci belonged to the First Italici; beyond them, in what was later Campania and part of Lucania, lived the Opici; and at the foot of the peninsula were the Itali (or Oenotrii) and other groups called Morgeti, Choni and so on. But for none of these, it seems, do we possess written texts. Beyond the straits the Siculans and Sicans belonged to this group, the former in the eastern part of Sicily, the latter in the centre and west. From them survive many glosses, and some words which passed into the speech of Epicharmus; and they have left inscriptions at Adrano, Sciri, Comiso and other places, of which the longest is on a vase at Centuripa. It seems clear that Siculan was the purer language, but that Sican showed more marked borrowings from the language of the indigenous pre-Indo-European people. But more direct evidence of that earlier language can be seen in the speech of the Elymians in western Sicily (see p. 76).

The First Italici, then, must have settled in Italy in fairly ancient times, not before the discovery and use of metals, but probably during the actual Chalcolithic Age. Their only subdivision which produced literature worthy of note was the Latin people; but that literature was formidable, and its cause was the political success and imperial expansion of Rome. It began without doubt in the period of the Kings, with popular Epic, religious hymns, and the writing of laws. But its greatest early works came later, in the fifth century, when the pontiffs edited the first part of the 'Annales Maximi' and the 'Laws of the Twelve Tables' were published. The succession of Roman conquests, however, had an inverse effect on the development of the Latin language, which gradually became infected by foreign influences, both in its vocabulary and in its grammar. Indeed this infection had set in early, as the result of the seventh- and sixth-century Etruscan domination of Rome, which lasted for more than a hundred years. All these phenomena have been closely examined by philologists.

The Second Italici must have started their migration very much later than their predecessors. There is a marked difference between the speech of the Latins and Siculans and that of the Oscans and Umbrians, who compose the second group; and a further linguistic argument can be found in the features which the latter languages, especially Umbrian, have in common with Celtic, features which are absent from the dialects of the First Italici. They are probably due to the fact that for some time the Second Italici and Celts inhabited adjoining districts, most likely in the upper valley of the Danube. The vanguard of the Oscans must have come down south of the Apennines at the time when the so-called 'Pianello civilization' appeared in these parts. This was a civilization of the First Iron Age, which cremated its dead and was related to, though distinct from, the Villanovan (or Proto-Etruscan) and First Atestine (or Proto-Venetic) civilizations. All these three developed for some time in close contact with one another, but on different lines, in the eastern part of the plain of the Po.

The Oscans, followed by the Umbrians, then penetrated farther south,

and began to fuse with the native inhumators, now partly composed of First Italici. In this way they acquired the mixture of rites, inhumation and cremation together, which characterized Oscan culture in the district of central Italy that from now on remained in their hands. The process also had its effect on the culture of Latium, where the newcomers sent some offshoots. It accounts for the Oscan features in the language of Rome (Mamercus, Mamertinus, Ciprius, etc.) and in that of Praeneste (*vhevakēd*); it also explains the tradition of Sabine invasions of Latium, including Rome.

Of the two groups of Second Italici the Umbrians in the rear by their southward advance accelerated the southward movement of the Oscans in the van. Herodotus (IV, 49) reflects a tradition which still places the Umbrians in the eastern Alpine country;¹⁸ but in the first half of the fourth century our authorities treat them as occupying, with their last outposts, the district south of Spina, including Butrium, Ravenna, and Ariminum. The fact was that the majority of their tribes had been pushed southward by the settlers in the Po valley, the Etruscans and later the Celts. They had therefore crossed the Apennines and occupied Umbria, later pouring down into other districts previously occupied by the Oscans, such as the Sabine country. The movement spread to one section of the Oscans themselves, who started the 'Sabellic migration' into southern Italy. The racial affinity between the Oscans and Umbrians is attested by a number of features common to their languages, by similarity between their proper names, and by the fact that the two races had to some extent an identical Pantheon and identical religious customs. But the two groups are fairly clearly distinct, as is shown by the greater tendency to innovation in the Umbrian language. Umbrian elements joining Oscan seem to have produced the hybrid group whose character is shown by an inscription of Velitrae, and which took the name of Volscian: at the end of the sixth century this became established as a barrier in lower Latium, between the remnants of the First Italici, the Latins, and the Ausones. The 'Sabellic' migrations, which were the last stage in the wanderings of the Second Italici, will be dealt with in Part II. But already in the period before 500 BC some tribes, the Picentes, Praetuttians, Marrucini, Marsi, and Frentani must have pushed east and south and south-east: the Samnites, too, had begun to invade the country which became their home in classical times.

For the Umbrian language the famous seven 'Tables of Iguvium', which go back to the years between 200 and 70 BC, are the most notable texts: for that of the Oscan tribes which remained north of Campania and Samnium written texts are comparatively short and few (for the more southerly Oscans see Part II).

f. *The 'Prae-Italic' Languages: the Etruscans*

We maintained earlier that the Etruscans came from across the Alps to north Italy at a very early period, still in the Neolithic Age, and that at the

dawn of the Iron Age, in the first stage of the Villanovan civilization, they passed on to Tuscany. If this hypothesis is right,¹⁹ they will have been in the Po valley before the First Italici arrived there, and will have descended south of the Apennines about the same time as the Second Italici.

Every attempt so far made to decipher Etruscan by identifying it with some known language, whether Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic, Ugro-Finnish, or Anatolian, may be taken to have failed. The extremely slender similarities on which each attempt was based are, at the most, evidence for very early contacts and meetings between the Etruscans and peoples of foreign speech. So in early times Dionysius of Halicarnassus seems to have been largely right in believing Etruscan to be a peculiar language on its own. The only parallels which are at all clear are with languages of the northern Caucasus on the one hand and with Basque on the other.

'Etruscoid' texts are found in the Transpadana and the Alpine country (from the North Etruscans), in Tuscany (from the Etruscans proper), and on the island of Lemnos.²⁰ The distribution suggests that one party of peoples belonging to this linguistic group came from Danubian Europe into the Balkans, where they were practically overwhelmed and cut off by the Indo-European immigrants, Greeks, Thracians, and Illyrians; but that larger bodies invaded the Po valley, from which at the dawn of the Iron Age they pushed on into Tuscany. The long period of separation between the North Etruscans, who stayed in the Po valley, and the Etruscans, who crossed the Apennines down into Tuscany, explains the strong difference between the two groups. There are, it is true, some limited but quite marked resemblances between Etruscoid and Indo-European languages not only in vocabulary but in grammatical forms. But these can quite easily be explained on our hypothesis, which puts the Etruscans in contact with Indo-Europeans, especially Italici, over long periods in many places, in the Danube and Po valleys, and in central Italy.

For the North Etruscan languages, which must have been split into dialects, we have a number of texts; but they are unfortunately late ones, in which the language has been infected by the speech of adjacent peoples, Ligurians, Celts, and Illyrians. These texts have been found in various regions of the Transpadana and the Alps, where Etruscan settlement is evident, and each region has given a name (Leponthian, Lugano, Sondrio, Bolzano) to a particular type of North Etruscan dialects.²¹ It is most improbable that these texts are evidence of a late and debased phase in the Etruscan culture of Tuscany, although this culture is normally believed on the strength of a passage in Livy (V, 32), to have extended into the Po valley. Admittedly texts in all respects similar to the Etruscan documents of Tuscany have been found in the Po valley, but they go back to the period, starting in the sixth century BC, when the cities of northern Etruria were extending their hegemony on the southern side of the Po; they have nothing to do with North Etruscan texts found in quite different districts, outside those in

which the Tuscan hegemony was exercised. The North Etruscan inscriptions are much more likely to represent a late phase in the language which the Etruscoids of the Transpadana and the Alpine districts spoke from the outset.

We have already suggested identifying the first North Etruscans with the inhabitants of the pile-dwellings (*palafitte*), who lived in the settlements formed on the sub-Alpine and Alpine lakes. It follows from our view that an Etruscan origin must be assigned also to the *palafitticoli* on the other side of the Alps, in Switzerland, south Germany, Austria, Croatia, eastern France, and Belgium. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by evidence from language. In those regions one may notice the persistence of typically Etruscan place-names, such as those ending in *-enna* (Arduenna, Cevenna, Vienna, Taruenna, etc.); and in the same Alpine and Transalpine regions, in three groups (the Grisons, Tyrol, and Friuli) are found the 'Ladin' or Rhaeto-Romance dialects, which must ultimately have been founded on a compound of North Etruscan and Latin.

The Etruscans proper have left us about 10,000 texts, mostly inscriptions, dating from the seventh century BC onwards. The longest is on the covering of a mummy, now in the museum at Zagreb; and others worthy of mention include a fifth-century Capuan inscription and one on a *cippus* at Perugia. Bilingual texts are few and brief; for example an inscription of Pesaro in Etruscan and Latin contains only three words. We also possess a fair number of Etruscan glosses, with their meanings explained in classical authors.

Distinguished study has been given to possible survivals of Etruscan speech in present-day Tuscan dialects. Another source of evidence is provided by Etruscan and hybrid texts from the regions where the Etruscans ruled, such as Capua and other parts of Campania.

Other Prae-Italic Dialects. The Etruscans and Etruscoids of classical times probably represented the races and languages surviving from a large stock, which in the course of the Neolithic Age had occupied the whole of a vast arc, from the Caucasus to the Iberian peninsula (see Chapter I). Similarly in fully classical periods in Italy and adjacent areas there existed survivors of an even older period, the Palaeolithic Age, who had been in fairly unbroken possession of south-west Europe. These were the Ligurian and Liguroid peoples.

Hesiod (in Strabo, VII, p. 660), writing about 600 BC²² spoke of the Ligurians as a people living at what, from the Greek standpoint, was the edge of the world, like the Ethiopians and Scyths. It appears from Hecataeus and from Himilco, in Avienus (*Ora Maritima*, 130 ff.), who are later supported by Lucan (I, 443-4), that all Gaul, including Belgium, was once occupied by the Ligurians, and that after the Celtic invasion they remained in certain districts and mixed with the Celts. The same is true of the Po valley, where in fully classical times they still occupied present-day Liguria as far as Pisa and the arc of the western Apennines, including the Casentino.

There is a set of place-names in *-asc*, *-osc*, *-isc* and *-usc*, which can be shown to be typically Ligurian and which allow us to envisage a still larger Liguria of early times. They are found not only in modern Liguria, but in Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia, the Apuan region, Corsica, Switzerland, upper Bavaria, the Tyrol, the Rhône departments of France, northern Spain, and Portugal. To illustrate the Ligurian language we have a few inscriptions on menhir statues of the Luna district, a number of citations in classical texts, the evidence of place-names, and some pre-Latin features in the vocabulary of modern Ligurian dialects. The so-called Lepontian (or Lugano) inscriptions, considered by some to be Ligurian, are so only in part: they are in a mixed dialect, with obvious Celtic and Etruscoid features. The Ligurians can be shown to have been one of the oldest peoples of western Europe. We can trace the way they retired to the mountains on all sides in face of the new invaders, Etruscans, Italici, Celts, and Germans. Moreover in those districts where they held out until the Roman conquest in the last centuries BC their cultural history continues from the Palaeolithic Age without a break.

The theory that the Ligurians were Indo-Europeans²³ is repugnant to everything so far said. It attaches too much importance to Indo-European features which entered Ligurian speech; these were simply the result of long contiguity between the two races, which lived together in the same area and formed hybrid dialects.

On the other hand, scholars might find it worth while to re-examine the possibility that the Liguroid languages, spoken all the way from Italy into Spain, were closely linked with the Hamitic and Berber dialects of North Africa.

Other Prae-Italic peoples still survived in historical times from the primitive populations of the peninsula and the neighbouring islands. They can be recognized in some parts of the Veneto and the Picene coastal area, and in western Sicily, Pantelleria, Sardinia, and Corsica. It may be that most of them derive from a submerged people of ancient Ligurian origin, who had spread fairly regularly in all directions; but it may be also that, as in Spain, they were joined by a layer of immigrating Hamitic peoples. Their scanty writings show, as was *a priori* likely, that their native speech was affected by the languages of the more civilized peoples with whom they had relations.

The name 'Euganei' is Greek, but the Greeks had here distorted a native name just as they called the Ligurian 'Ingauni' by the name 'Eubioi' (as a fragment of Theopompus tells us). The Euganei were clearly Ligurian, as is shown by similarities in their material remains and by the fact that one of their tribes, the Stoeni, is called 'Ligure' in the *Fasti Triumphales*. But they bordered on the North Etruscan Rhaeti and mingled with them, with the result that their language became infected with Etruscoid elements.

Of the indigenous Asyli in Picenum, the northern section lived near modern Novilara and Pesaro, the southern near Belmonte Piceno, Fermo,

and Cupra Maritima. Their Iron Age culture derived from the Neolithic culture of the district, but gradually assimilated alien features from the North Etruscans, from the Illyrian Liburnians who settled between their two sections, and from the Italic Umbrians and Picenes invading from the West; later they were influenced by the Tarentines and Phocaeans as well. The language underlying the two sets of inscriptions they have left is of a purely Indo-European type, though in the north it was affected by the Illyrians and North Etruscans, in the south by the Umbrians and Oscans. It would seem logical to connect these Asyli with the Liguroid stratum in the population, but in the last resort we know too little about them to justify such a conclusion without further evidence.

Another probable pre-Indo-European language is that of the Elymians, who were indigenous in western Sicily and must have formed pockets where their speech was used in pure or hybrid form, extending into the territory of the Italic Sicans in the centre of the island. Coins at Eryx and Segesta carry legends in a language which is not Greek and which suggests a connection with the Iberian and Iberio-Ligurian worlds: this may have been dimly in Thucydides' mind (VI. 2) when he makes the Sicans come from the Iberian peninsula, though he should have said 'pre-Sicans'. Such Elymian place-names as are known have other echoes in the Ligurian world, this time on the east coast of the Gulf of Genoa. Moreover, like the Ligurians, the Elymians are shown by archaeology to have had a continuous cultural history starting in Neolithic times or perhaps even earlier.

Corsica, as the Spaniard Seneca attests, must have been inhabited by a miscellany of peoples, Iberian and Ligurian, with a civilization which took root in the Neolithic Age and with customs similar to those of the Berbers and Iberians. As to Sardinia, ancient writers speak explicitly both of an Etruscan connection which it had in common with Corsica and also of particular immigrants, from Iberia (including the Balearics) and Libya. Direct evidence about the Sardinian language is practically confined to a couple of glosses and to place-names: the latter show signs of Iberian origin, for instance the name *Balari*, which in Corsican, we are told, meant 'fugitive' (Pausanias, X. 17. 9).

g. *The Celts and the Iberians*

Celtic languages have features in common with those both of the First and of the Second Italici, and have had strong influence on the dialects of the Germans. This shows that these four Indo-European groups²⁴ were in contact with one another before the Celts moved to the country called Gaul; and in all probability these contacts were established in the region north of the Alps, in the Bronze or Early Iron Age. It is clear, however, that at the moment of their passage into Gaul the Celts were in process of developing their particular form of Iron Age culture which we call Western Hallstatt (in two periods: 800-650, 650-550 BC): this was shot through with features

borrowed from the Greeks, Italici, Illyrians, and Etruscans, whose culture reached them along the Adriatic and the Alpine passes. To be precise, Hallstatt appears first in the regions north of the Alps, in Bohemia, Silesia, Austria, the eastern Alps, and south Germany (including Württemberg and Baden). Soon afterwards it is found in Switzerland, and it then spreads in two directions; (a) Franche Comté, Burgundy, Champagne, the Palatinate, Lorraine, and Belgium; (b) Savoy, Dauphiné, the Auvergne. These must have been the lines along which the Celts penetrated into Gaul. Once there, they came under the influence of Massiliote culture, which spread through the country and was responsible for transforming Hallstatt into the civilization we call La Tène (first phase 550–500).²⁵

From the study of Celtic dialects still surviving in Great Britain, Ireland, and in Brittany we can distinguish two groups, one represented by the Goidelic and Gaelic dialects, which at several points are in line with Latin, the other by the Breton or Cymric dialects, aligned more with Osco-Umbrian.²⁶ Moreover, these differences probably go back to the time of the migrations from the Danube regions, since survivals in later speech show that at an early period a Goidelic dialect was spoken in Gaul as well: compare the month named 'equus', the river Sequana, the tribe of the Sequani, the city Argentorate, and other Goidelic forms. So the earliest Celtic migrants, who brought Hallstatt culture with them, belonged to the first linguistic group, but their successors to the second.

The first wave of migrants started, as Tacitus says (*Germ.*, 18), from the region between the Hercynian forest, the Rhine, and the Main, and probably gave rise to the Helvetii, Sequani, Lingones, Leuci, Mediomatrici, and also to the Belgae: the view of some moderns that the Belgae came down from the north in the third century is based on a misunderstanding of certain passages in ancient writers (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, II, 4, 1; Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 139–45; Mela, III, 6, 57, cf. 5, 36).²⁷ From the Belgae later were derived the people of Armorica, who also received immigrants from the second migration: they then, accompanied by some of the Belgae, crossed over to occupy southern Britain, at a time when La Tène culture was already widespread. Caesar, who was the first to call attention to the correspondence between the Celtic place-names of Britain and Belgica (*de Bello Gallico*, V, 12, 2), distinguishes only two races in southern Britain, one indigenous, the other Belgic. He did not therefore believe in an early migration by 'proto-Celts', which is supported by certain modern writers.²⁸

The most compelling reason for the Celtic movement towards Gaul was undoubtedly the pressure exercised on them by the Germans. But the pressure was not thereby halted: Germans now repeatedly crossed the Rhine and settled on its left bank. These invasions, with the consequent increase in population, brought about two further migrations by some sections of the Celts: one back towards the Danube and into the Po valley, the other across the Pyrenees into Spain.

The return of part of the Celts into the Danube region, and their simultaneous descent into the Po valley, did not begin, as the Roman annalists claimed, at the beginning of the fourth century, but undoubtedly started a couple of centuries earlier (cf. Livy, V, 33-5; Justin, XX, 5, 7-9; Polybius, II, 17; Appian, *Celt.*, 2).²⁹ The establishment in the Po valley took a considerable time, for the inhabitants, especially the Etruscans and Umbrians, put up a tenacious resistance. This view is confirmed by archaeological finds relating to the Celts in this region, which are noticeably earlier in the north-west, and later in the south-east.

The reconquest of the Danubian region was already known to Hecataeus slightly after 500, before its mention by Herodotus (II, 33; IV, 49). Herodotus also knows of the other movement of the Celts which took them into Spain and of which we shall speak in a moment.

Evidence about the Celtic language in classical times is not plentiful. There are names of persons, divinities, and places, about a hundred brief inscriptions and graffiti (starting in the third century BC), and some coin legends. But detailed knowledge of Celtic is given us later by the dialects which survive in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany: there are also Irish texts from the fifth century AD.

It was earlier than Herodotus' day, in other words about 450 BC at latest,³⁰ that the Celts pushed into the Iberian peninsula and settled in the valleys of the Anas (Guadiana), Tagus, and Ebro, where they joined with the indigenous races to form a group of mixed language, the Celtiberians. Apart from historical tradition, these are known to us from brief inscriptions, mainly on coins, and from a quantity of place-names of Celtic type, for instance those ending in '-briga'. In the Iberian peninsula they must have found at least two languages spoken: in some districts these were sharply distinguished, in others they had been fused. The first was the forebear of the modern 'euskara', the language of the Vascones, a tribe from which the Pyrenean races, the Basques in Spain and the Gascons in France, are descended: it was the language of a people which had taken to the hills in face of invasions from south and north, and was probably spoken in Spain from the end of the Neolithic Age. It can be regarded as the remnant of a great racial and linguistic unity which stretched in a wide arc from the Iberian peninsula to the Caucasus but from which there survived only the 'linguistic pockets', the places where Basque, Etruscoid, and Caucasian languages were spoken. We have seen, incidentally, that penetration by Etruscan peoples into Spain is not to be ruled out.

In contrast, the second kind of language found in Spain, which we shall call Iberian and which in the majority of the peninsula had blended with the language just described, seems to be comparable chiefly with languages in the Hamitic world of North Africa: in the European world it has affinities with the ancient speech of the Balearics, western Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

h. First Evidence for the Germans

Our first records of the Germans are late, not earlier than the fourth century BC, when Pytheas of Massilia reported that in his travels he had reached the lands of the Teutones. One century later, bands of German 'gaesati' aided the Gallic expeditions against Rome; and the *Fasti Triumphales* report a victory over them in 222. Their first migrations recorded by classical sources are those by the Bastarnae about 200, and those by the Cimbri and Teutones at the end of the second century BC. In this period covered by this chapter they had not yet settled in the more southerly regions in which they are found soon afterwards; the whole district north of the Alps (south Germany, Switzerland, Austria and so on) was occupied partly by North Etruscans and partly by Celts. But Germanic contacts with those people can be proved. The burning of their dead was a custom probably learnt from the North Etruscans (and the Germans still preserved it in Tacitus' time—*Germ.*, 27); and numerous Celticisms entered German nomenclature and their language generally. Undoubtedly too ideas and goods reached the Germans from Mediterranean lands by way of the North Etruscans and Celts: but this happened on a small scale, since all Nordic civilization, though homogeneous, was apparently late in developing.

It is clear that the home of the German tribes, who believed themselves to be autochthonous, still lay in northern Germany and a part of Scandinavia. But they were already showing a tendency to fan out southwards; and in so doing they acted as a lever which started the Celtic migrations and shut the North Etruscan tribes within narrower areas than before.

The present writer believes that some Germans had crossed the Rhine before the Celts occupied the parts of Gaul on the left bank. A long strip of German, or mixed Germano-Celtic, tribes is well known in the time of Caesar, who considered all the more northerly and easterly tribes of Belgica to be Germanized; and it would follow from our view that these tribes made their first appearance quite far back in time. Two arguments confirm this theory. First, cremation was exclusively practised in Belgica from the Bronze Age onwards, while in the remainder of Gaul the Celts used both rites indiscriminately, having borrowed inhumation from the Ligurians. Secondly, in the district of which we are speaking there are many fortified posts and abandoned treasures, proof of a continual state of warfare.

The first epigraphic documents of the Germans, in the Runic alphabet which originated probably with the North Etruscans, go back only to the third century AD, so does the Gothic translation of the Bible by Wulfila. For ancient times, therefore, we have only names of persons, divinities, and places, in Greek and Latin authors, as evidence for the German language.

i. *The Semitic Languages*

In the period 1200–500 BC the languages used by the Semitic peoples, in the eastern section of the Middle Eastern lands into which they were expanded, were still those they had used in earlier times, namely Accadian and Assyrian, though Aramaic was beginning to creep in.

Accadian about 1400 had become the diplomatic language of the whole vast region from Mesopotamia to Egypt, precisely because it was employed by people whose natural speech was foreign (the Hittites, Hurrians and so on). We consequently find Accadian with local characteristics, as at Nuan south of Nineveh, at Alalakh, and at Mari on the Euphrates. It continued to be used for imperial documents even when the Assyrians were ruling in Babylonia; and it was then imposed as an official language in the neo-Babylonian or Chaldean empire, from 626 to 532, after which, under the Persian dominion, it became the learned language of the priests. Meanwhile the language of the Assyrians continued to develop side by side with Accadian,³¹ to which it was fairly similar, apart from its sibilants and the general tendency to archaism shown in the 'Cappadocian tablets' of the eighteenth century found at Kultepe. But it was gradually altered in its later history, when the area of its employment depended on the changing fortunes of the Assyrian empire.

But in later times the introduction of Aramaic personages into the neo-Babylonian and Persian worlds as imperial functionaries, and the success with which their language was spreading, brought about the adoption of Aramaic as the main Achaemenid administrative language. It was employed by the Persians in the countries they had taken from the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and gradually took the place of the earlier languages in Mesopotamia and Syria.

Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phoenician. The main classification of the western Semitic languages is into two groups, northern and southern (or Arabian).

Within the northern group, in the Canaan region, we can distinguish the following tongues:

(a) Old Sinaitic, known from about twenty inscriptions written in an archaic semi-alphabetic script (see below, p. 92), which is hard to interpret. This was probably employed at the time of the Hyksos invasions of Egypt, but its dating is disputed (between the nineteenth and fifteenth centuries BC).

(b) The language of Ugarit (Ras Shamrah). Besides the Accadian and Asianic texts discovered at this site, which faces Cyprus, some others have been found of fourteenth-century date. These are in a language akin to Phoenician, but with a high degree of archaizing.

(c) Phoenician. Of this the earliest surviving texts were found at Byblos (about ten fragments in pseudo-hieroglyphic script, including the epitaph

of King Akhiram, whose date is put at various points between the thirteenth and tenth centuries BC), at Cyprus (a ninth-century alphabetical votive inscription of Arvab), and at Karatepe (an eighth-century bilingual text). The majority of texts in this language, some of which are Punic (from Carthage and its empire), are of much later date.

(d) The languages of Moab, Ammon, and Edom. The first is known from the ninth-century *stèle* of King Mesha, the second from some incised seals, and the last from a short inscription of the eighth or seventh century and from seventh-century stamps on jars.

(e) Ancient or Biblical Hebrew, from the period before the Babylonian Captivity. In this the principal inscriptions are the so-called Calendar of Gezer, dated between the eleventh and ninth centuries; fragments of ninth-century *ostraka* from Samaria; the inscription on the aqueduct of Siloam in Judaea (c. 700); a leather fragment from Marabbaat (seventh century), and the letters on *ostraka* found at Lachish in southern Palestine, some of which can be dated around 587. It is in these centuries that the greater part of the Bible was edited, the oldest sections, such as the *Song of Deborah*, possibly going back to about 1000 BC,³² and others being as late as the seventh century. After the return of the Hebrews from captivity in 538 Ancient Hebrew was used as prayer language and to draw up the sacred texts, while in the country Aramaic began to be spoken widely.

(f) Aramaic. Accadian texts of the fourteenth century BC speak of Arameans, nomads of northern Arabia; and these people took part in invasions of Egypt in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries. They surged northwards, into the Transjordanian part of Palestine, and created in turn the small states of Petra, Palmyra, and Edessa.

In Persian times, as we have stated above, Aramaic became the official administrative language in the Assyrian and Babylonian zones; but it also gained supremacy in every Syrian country. The earliest Aramaic texts are the following: a brief inscription of Gozan (Tell Halaf), which may be tenth-century; an inscribed table of ivory belonging to King Hazael in the ninth; an inscription of Ben Hadad, king of Damascus, of about 850; the *stèle* discovered near Aleppo, relating to Zakir, king of Hamath and Lu'ash, dated about 775; the sixth-century *stèle* of Nerab; and the Aramaic papyri of an earlier date (c. 815) found together with Aramaic *ostraka* in Egypt.

The southern Semitic group consisted mainly of the Arabian peoples. The northern section of these, which can be subdivided further, are mentioned in ninth-century Accadian texts, and have left only inscribed seals and cylinders, which perhaps belong to the previous century. The southern Arabs included the Minaeo-Sabaitic state, which was probably not created until the sixth century BC.

j. *Caucasian Languages*

We are ignorant of the precise linguistic conditions in the Caucasian region, not only during the period 1200–500 BC, but throughout antiquity. If we are forced to conjecture, the most probable answer is that at that time Caucasian languages were not so fully diversified as they were soon to become. They were nearer to their primitive state, and furthermore had not yet been greatly affected, in the southern part of the region, by the speech of peoples of different culture with whom they were in contact over so many centuries. Moreover the northern districts cannot yet have been invaded by the Indo-European foreigners (Iranic Ossetians and Russian Slavs) and by the Turco-Tartars, who live there today.

It is also likely that at least in the early centuries of our period the surviving portions of the great linguistic arc of southern Europe covered a much wider area and yet bordered on one another. This is the arc from which, besides the Caucasians, there still survived the Etruscoids and the Basques.

k. *Chinese and Sino-Tibetan Languages*

The Chinese are probably autochthonous: every theory of a migrant origin has collapsed in face of complete absence of confirmatory evidence. At the outset the dialect, or group of dialects, on which the present literary language is founded, was spoken only in a very narrow area on the western side of the great alluvial plain of the Huang-ho. The remainder of China was covered by kindred dialects, of which we know little or nothing; and especially to the south of the Yangtze-kiang there were languages of other families, such as Tibeto-Burman, T'ai, and perhaps also Malayo-Polynesian. Chinese as the language of administration and culture spread with the same rhythm as the Chou state; and by the second century BC it had therefore become the official language of all present-day China. But as a language of the lower classes its progress was very much slower. In the north 'barbarian' (i.e. non-Chinese) groups still inhabited the mountain country a few centuries before our era; but their languages quickly died out. South China, on the other hand, for a long time remained a country whose language was not Chinese. Later on the various local forms of speech were overcome: they retired to the less accessible regions of the interior, where in more or less compact linguistic 'pockets' they even today put up a resistance to the progress of Sinization. On the other side, the Chinese *koiné* was subdivided in its turn into a number of early dialects.

The first appearance of the Chinese language is on bronzes and tortoise-shell of the Shang period: classical literature begins in the first quarter of the first millennium, at first in an oral form, being recorded in writing much later. The very nature of its ideographic script conceals the linguistic content. The ideograms are read in modern pronunciation, which means in the dialect of the readers: the script gives us only indirect evidence about

the ancient pronunciation. The attempt to construct a history of the Chinese language has been going on for less than a generation; the process is laborious and the results are not always certain.

In this field the work of B. Karlgren is fundamental. From a reasonably sure reconstruction of the pronunciation current in the sixth and seventh centuries AD he argues back to the archaic pronunciation of the Chou period, making particular use of the rhymes of the *Shih-ching* and other ancient texts. The Chinese language in the Chou period had a phonetic structure much richer and more complex than it has now—with final consonants and sets of initial consonants, whereas modern Peking Chinese allows only a single consonant at the beginning of a word, and a single vowel or diphthong or a single nasal at the end. To this generous use of consonants must be added the three or (as Chinese grammarians maintain) four tones, divided into two series, high and low. Karlgren's reconstruction met with powerful objections, particularly from Chinese scholars, and although it is a very probable one it cannot yet be regarded as definitive. It should be made clear that his theory relates to the language used by court circles in the two Chou capitals. Once again difficulties connected with the script make it difficult to grasp the dialect variations, though we get information about them from later sources.

Archaic Chinese had two methods of derivation: one through the alternation of voiced and unvoiced initials, with the addition of prefixes; the other by the alternation of vowels and by changes in the final sounds. The first method was used to form pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs, or of verbs and verbal nouns: for instance *duan* = to be cut, *tuan* = to cut; and *lön* = ice, *plön* = to freeze. The second method served for the grammatical cases of pronouns and for sundry other forms of variation. For instance *no* = I (the nominative), *na* = me (the accusative). In its syntax the literary language began to take shape in the Chou period, and was to be finally fixed in the period which followed (see Part II).

The majority of the languages spoken in south-east Asia, in south-west China, and on the Tibetan plateau can be grouped with Chinese in the large Sino-Tibetan family. This can be classified into six divisions: Sinic, T'ai, Tibetan, Burman, Bari, and Karenni (according to the scheme formulated by R. Shafer). Very little can be said about their distribution in primitive times: we only know that in the historical period the areas in which the languages were used both contracted and expanded, and also shifted. For example there were certainly no Burmese in Burma nor T'ai in Siam before our era; and there may not even have been Tibetans in central Tibet. It would seem that the primitive home of these languages, the centre from which they radiated, should be sought in the west and south-west of China. None of them has left written records earlier than the seventh century AD.

At an undefined period of the first millennium BC a small T'ai aristocracy imposed its rule and its own language on the Mon-Khmer population of

the Tonking delta. This basically T'ai language, however, was heavily contaminated by the underlying Khmer layer, and eventually gave rise to the Annamite speech, though the precise position of the latter is still in dispute.

Most of the southern region where Sino-Tibetan languages are found today, that is to say the various coastal plains of south-east Asia, was originally occupied by languages of the Mon-Khmer family. These were later overwhelmed and reduced to a few remnants, of which the most noticeable today are the Khmer (or Cambodian) and the Mon (or Talaing) in lower Burma. But the first records of these two languages do not go back beyond the eighth century AD.

1. *Languages in Central and North Eurasia*

No account can possibly be given of the races and languages in the immense regions of central and northern Eurasia. Archaeological finds tell us something about the progress of civilization and the centres for its diffusion; but they provide no indications of any value about the problem of language, which is before us now. We must also remember that any hypothesis which attempts to get help from the circumstances of centuries nearer our own must inevitably be unreliable. No concrete evidence exists for the period with which we are concerned; and these nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes are so mobile that they may have shifted their homes out of recognition. In addition, the spontaneous growth of dialects not tied down by literary usage has brought about far-reaching alterations in languages; and over wide areas the influence of more civilized peoples may have had a similar effect.

If we limit ourselves to quite elementary conclusions, we might say that approximately the same races and languages as are found there today must have moved around this vast region, some chiefly in the west, others in the east. They had not yet, however, become an important factor in the districts most familiar to states of more advanced culture.

The presumption would then be that the western districts were inhabited by those Indo-European races who had not yet been in the lands of higher civilization. Besides the Germans, this means the Baltic Slavs and the Tokharic peoples (for whom the earliest written evidence, from Turkestan, is not earlier than the seventh century AD). In addition, these districts would have contained the ancestors of the present speakers of Uralic languages: the Finnish group (Lapps, Finns—already known to Tacitus, *Germ.*, 48—Mordvinians, Permians, Ostiaks and so on); the Magyar group; and the Samoyedes, who are now spread from Norway to the Yenisei basin, i.e. to longitude 90° east. Farther to the south and south-east lay probably the ancient home of the Turkish peoples, now scattered between Anatolia and longitude 100°.

On the other hand the primitive home of the Mongols (now living between

longitudes 80° and 125°) should probably be pictured as lying in the eastern zone; and also that of the Tunguses (now between 85° and 165°), the Palaeo-Siberians (who apart from the Ket group on the Yenisei are between 145° and 170°), the Koreans, and the Ainu. Finally some influence would have been exerted by the Tibetans from the south. But all this is wildly hypothetical and elastic. One needs only to remember that modern scholars cannot agree whether the Huns (Hsiung-nu), the enemies of China, belonged to the Turkish or Mongolian or Tungus group (see pp. 45 ff.).

m. *Polynesia*

It is even more difficult to guess at the broad lines on which races and languages were distributed in the Polynesian and Australasian worlds in the period 1200 BC to AD 400. Although the island nature of these regions helps us in that various peoples have persisted in the same place without changing their homes, none the less some considerable migrations are attested. The natives, true-born sailors, found it easy, even with their primitive equipment, to undertake the most daring expeditions from island to island; and we also get evidence from the disordered way in which the languages of the region can be seen distributed at the present day. Not only do they show heavily marked differences between each group, caused by the independent development of speech not used in literature; but there are similarities between groups which today do not adjoin one another, their separation being clearly due to the fact that other groups have come in between them. For example the Papuans, the Melanesians, and the Australian aborigines have inserted themselves between the Malay Indonesians and the Melanesians; and there are strong resemblances between the Malay Indonesians and the far-distant inhabitants of Madagascar, and between the Papuans of New Guinea and the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean. All this leads one to believe that many movements have occurred since antiquity, though their nature cannot be precisely determined.

One would like, then, to think it probable that the forebears of the races and languages found there today (i.e. the Malay Indonesians, Papuans, Melanesians, Australian and Tasmanian aborigines, and Polynesians) inhabited this vast region of Oceania from very early times. But we are entirely ignorant as to where each one was located at each particular period of the past. We can be more confident in assuming certain migratory movements, for example by Malay Indonesians going west to Madagascar and east to Polynesia; and certain direct contacts, in antiquity, by peoples now far apart, like the Papuans and the inhabitants of the Andamans.

n. *America before Columbus*

It would be even more hazardous to try deducing anything about linguistic conditions on the American continent in the period 1200 BC to AD 400 by using the distribution of languages there in modern times. They have been

very numerous—on one calculation there were about 900 at the beginning of the sixteenth century—but knowledge of their distribution is useful only for topographical and other incidental inquiries. Nowadays one can speak of six large families of ancient languages in North America, with an enormous number of sub-species; of thirteen large families with a similar proportion of sub-species in Mexico and Central America; and of at least 108 languages in South America and the Antilles. Even if, despite all the variations brought about by people detaching themselves geographically from their main body, and despite the rapid transformations affecting languages which are only spoken (and not written), we could succeed in reducing this linguistic picture to a much more simple scheme, we should still not know how to place the various languages securely either in time or in space.

There are points to notice about the much-discussed relations between these languages and the world outside America. In North America there are the similarities noted by Sauvageot between the speech of the Aleutian Eskimos and that of the Ural peoples. There are Rivet's comparisons between Hoka-siu and Malay Polynesian speech, and Sapir's between Nadeve speech and that of the Sino-Tibetans. Moreover in South America interesting analogies have been drawn between Patagonian and Fuegian on the one hand and Australian on the other.

But it is another thing to say in what period these possible migrations to the new continent took place.

o. Africa

As regards the African continent, the first thing to remember is that in Egypt, besides the continued use by the scribes of the traditional literary language, there was an increasing tendency to set down familiar texts in a vernacular. This was a very different language, which must have been that of the district round Thebes; it is usually called neo-Egyptian. Later, from the time of the Saite Psamtiks of the seventh century, although the traditional language used for inscriptions was still showing a deliberate effort at purism, the vernacular was assuming marked regional features.

Some have believed that the Hamitic and Semitic languages formed a single group, within which the Semitic were more conservative. There is no adequate proof of this.³³ The older theory seems more likely, namely that the Egyptian language is a hybrid, its base being provided by the indigenous Hamitic people, its superstructure by early Semitic invaders. Other examples of Semitic immigration into Egypt are not lacking, like the one in the Hyksos period and later those by the 'Peoples of the Sea'. Semitic migrations also occurred farther south, in east Africa, such as that which started from southern Arabia and founded the languages of Ethiopia: this certainly took place several centuries before our era, though the languages are not attested until the third or fourth century AD.

We now come to North Africa, by which is meant the area from the borders

of Egypt on the north-east as far as Morocco and the Canaries, and in the south from the mouth of the Senegal to Assuan on the Nile—exception being made for a part of Cyrenaica, where Greek colonies were settled, and for a part of the southern Mediterranean coast between Tunisia and Morocco, where there were Phoenico-Punic colonies and Numidians. With these exceptions Hamitic dialects, of the kind normally called Libyo-Berber, were spoken in all the area, just as they are spoken still where they have not been overwhelmed by Arabic. These are dialects akin to those which penetrated in an archaic period into part of Spain and part of Sicily. They are attested by names of places and persons, and also by brief inscriptions and graffiti, though these seem to be not earlier than the second century AD.

A group of kindred dialects, called Cushite, are spoken today east of the Nile valley along the coast of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, as far as latitude 4° south, though they are interspersed with Semitic forms of speech. The only one of these dialects whose archaic phase is known to us is that from Meroë, in upper Nubia and the Egyptian Sudan. In the period 750 BC–AD 350 this was the home of a more or less autonomous state from which Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions have come down to us with examples of ancient Cushite.

Of the ancient conditions of language in 'Black Africa', on the other hand, we know practically nothing. At the present day the languages spoken in the Sudan and Guinea are divisible into sixteen groups, and each of these can again be divided into a number of dialects. The earliest evidence of what they were like is provided by the explorer Hanno, in his note on the word 'gorilla'; and there are religious writings in the Nubian language from the fourth century AD onward. South of them, on the Atlantic coast as far as Angola and on the other side down to the eastern coast of the Republic of South Africa, are about 150 species of the Bantu language; and farther south again there are the Koin languages of the Bushmen and Hottentots. The area occupied by the Bantu must have seen many changes of races and languages: the Pygmies of the tropical forests must once have spread widely over it, and these have been linked by some scholars with the Koin group. But it is not impossible that the Bantu peoples emigrated to these areas comparatively late, though this view must not be supported by the confusing comparisons which have been established between their dialects and those of other peoples of whom the Dravidians are the chief.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF WRITING SYSTEMS

a. *Persistence of Tradition*

The first thing to remember about methods of writing in the period 1200–500 BC is the extent to which the methods current in the preceding centuries persisted.

Thus the two scripts of Egypt were for half a millennium the only ones which had spread through the Nile valley. They were the hieroglyphic, which was employed for monumental records, and the hieratic, a cursive increasingly less equipped with pictorial features, which was used for both ecclesiastical and secular writings on papyrus. Neither, however, gained as such any ground outside the Nile valley, although other peoples drew inspiration from them in composing their own scripts, and the Phoenicians sometimes used hieroglyphic characters simply as ornamental and pictorial motifs.

In the course of the seventh century BC the hieratic script gave rise to a second type of cursive, which Herodotus called 'Demotic'. This was used particularly for secular purposes, and was dominant down to the fifth century AD: it had signs for words, sounds, and cases, with no apparent traces of pictorial writing, and was set down from right to left with ligatures linking the signs. No one of the three Egyptian types of script ever assumed alphabetic features.

Cuneiform. The Sumerian script, called cuneiform, had been gradually adopted by a number of peoples. They included the Semitic (Accadian and Babylonian) invaders of Mesopotamia, the Assyrians to their north, who had gradually become Semitic in culture, and the Kassites, who dominated Mesopotamia until their defeat by the Elamites in 1171. The Elamites had previously used a linear geometric script of their own, called Palaeo-Elamite, which may be derived from pictographic symbols;³⁴ but when from 1171 to 640 they became lords of Babylonia they too adopted the cuneiform system (neo-Elamite), though they simplified it and used only about 113 characters,³⁵ of which more than 80 were syllabic in nature. This they then left as a legacy to the Arameo-Chaldeans, who supplanted them as rulers of that country down to 539, the year in which Babylon was conquered by the Persians.

But the cuneiform script was not confined to the areas of Babylonia and Assyria. In early days it was disseminated as an international language of diplomacy by the various peoples who had their headquarters in those areas. In this way it was used by the Hittites, Mitanni and Hurrians, Chaldeans, Urartu, and Canaanites; and finally sometimes by the Egyptians, as can be seen particularly in records from the Tell el Amarna archives. Later, as we shall see, it inspired the so-called Old Persian script of the Achaemenids, which was half cuneiform and half alphabetic.

Hittite Hieroglyphic. The problems of the early methods of Hittite cuneiform are outside our field, but some mention must be made of the so-called 'Hittite hieroglyphic'. This must have been in use during the second half of the second millennium: extant records of it belong to the period between the thirteenth and seventh centuries. But as an artificial method of writing the Hittite empire was already using, especially on bilingual inscriptions,

the script of the Syrian regions where vassal states of the Hittites had been created (Carchemish, Hamath, Aleppo, etc.) though the languages spoken were not those of the Hittites of Boğazköy.

Hittite hieroglyphic had 220 signs, some of them ideograms, others phonetic, and a number being syllabic. They were cut from right to left, or alternatively *boustrophedon*. The script does not seem to have been derived either from Egyptian hieroglyphs or from Minoan pictograms: at the most it may have been devised as an imperial script along Egyptian lines. As we said above, the eighth-century bilingual inscription from Karatepe, set up by a king of the Danauna, has made it possible to establish our knowledge of these Hittite hieroglyphs with full certainty.

Early Indian writing. After the middle of the second millennium BC the Indus culture, and with it its pictographic writing, became a thing of the past. The Aryan invaders, who succeeded it immediately or after a lapse of time, were in all probability without a script; and a gap of about one thousand years separates the pictograms of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro from the first Brahmī inscriptions.³⁶

The origin of the Brahmī alphabet, from which all the modern Indian scripts derive, is obscure. It had been maintained once that it derived from some form of Semitic alphabet; but the resemblances are too vague. Now the recent discoveries at Lothal in Gujarat seem to provide the missing link in the history of Indian writing. They show a late simplified form of the Indus script, in which the pictographic element has nearly completely disappeared. From this simpler script the Brahmī alphabet may be descended. Of course, final proof of this derivation is still lacking.

However, since the first epigraphic occurrence of Brahmī is not earlier than the end of the fourth century, it can be more suitably dealt with in the section which follows.

The Chinese Ideogram. The first examples of writing in China are found on bones and tortoise-shells excavated at Anyang, which were used under the Shang dynasty for purposes of divination. The earliest go back to the fourteenth century BC. Even at that time the general principles behind the ideograms were already the same as those which inspire modern Chinese writing: the modern characters are in the direct line of descent from those of the Shang period and have undergone no fundamental modifications. We know of about 2,500 Shang pictograms; and all have already a style and simplicity which imply that a considerable period of development lay behind them, though of such a period no traces have yet been discovered. The Chou conquest about 1050 brought no changes of any consequence; the Chou spoke the same language as the Shang, or at any rate one which was closely akin, so no change was made necessary. From the first Chou period (c. 1050–771) there survive numerous and sometimes comparatively lengthy inscriptions on bronze vases; and to these one may add sporadic inscriptions

on pottery and jade. In the later Chou period (c. 771-250) these inscriptions become shorter and less common.

The Chinese characters are the perfect response to the nature of the language, in which every word is complete by itself and is not altered by its syntactical use: the same monosyllable can serve as substantive, verb, adjective, etc., according to its position in the phrase. Moreover the existence of a large number of homophones (which are admittedly much more numerous now than they were in the archaic language) is another reason why ideographic script is the method best adapted to Chinese speech.

Its origin, as far as we can see today, was entirely autochthonous. Neither its principle nor its forms seem to owe anything to inspiration from outside Shang China, that is to say from outside the lower basin of the Huang-ho. The greatest possible freedom and variety were allowed in the primitive stage of the script. The scribes all follow the same tradition and the same kind of convention, but within it they are free to modify and vary the forms as much as they please. The more the characters increased in number, the more they became conventional and lost all resemblance to the naturalistic representations of primitive times; but different kinds of 'ductus' begin to develop. The ancient script (*Ku-wen*) used under the Shang in this way gave rise to an angular 'Great Seal script' (*ta-chuan*) and a 'Small Seal script' (*hsiao-chuan*), which are attributed by later tradition to the ninth and third centuries BC respectively, but whose first origins must, it seems, be put at the end of the Shang period.

Chinese philologists traditionally divide the characters into six classes: (1) *hsiang-hsing* (resemblance of form), which are genuine pictograms in the full sense of the word and embrace the earliest characters; (2) *chih-shih* (indicative symbols), in which abstract ideas are represented either by human gestures which indicate them or by means of signs borrowed from words of analogous meaning (e.g. the signs for numerals, parts of the day, etc.); (3) *hui-i* (associative compounds), which are based on the association of ideas resulting from the sum of their component parts (e.g. two 'woman' characters with the meaning 'to quarrel'; 'sun' behind 'tree' with the meaning 'east'); (4) *chuan-chu* (mutually interpretative symbols), when a word is indicated by using the character for another word of analogous meaning, or by turning other characters upside-down or reversing them; (5) *chia-chieh* ('to seek help'), the deliberate or accidental interchange of characters which represent homophones, or even some kind of straightforward borrowing of characters which resemble the word required; (6) *hsing-sheng* (harmonized sounds), which are phonetic compounds, written with one element which indicates the word's pronunciation, and another which indicates the group or class to which its meaning belongs; for instance the character *fang*, = 'square', when used as a phonetic and placed next to the 'earth' character (which when it stands alone is pronounced *t'u*, but which here is used only to indicate the group of meanings), produces *fang* = place.

The vast majority of Shang period characters belong to class 1, with a small number in classes 2 to 5. Class 6 grew up almost entirely in the Chou period (there are, however, some doubts about this),³⁷ and has been the most fertile of all in producing later developments; today it comprises, according to Creel, about half the characters normally used in classical texts, and it may even comprise nine-tenths of all existing characters (Karlgren's figure). At the end of the Chou period Chinese had in essence become, to use Needham's words, 'a phonetic script employing some 1,000 signs rendering the sounds of all the different syllable-words, and ready to combine with determinatives which would indicate the meaning'.

'Hexagrams' have a place apart. They are composed of six parallel horizontal lines, which are each either continuous or divided, thus giving the possibility of sixty-four different combinations. They are found only in the *I-ching* or book of changes, a manual on divination which is attributed to the father of the first Chou king, but which must in fact be somewhat later. The hexagrams indicate certain basic ideas and were meant entirely for purposes of divination; they thus fall outside the field of writing, especially as they had no possibilities of further development.

The Syllabic Scripts of Mycenae and Cyprus. We have no reason to concern ourselves in this chapter with the two earliest Minoan scripts which grew up during the Early and Middle Minoan periods. But we cannot avoid mention of the two linear scripts. The first of these, called Linear A and datable to the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, was used by the pre-Greek population of Crete; it was also adopted by the Hellenes of the Greek peninsula, where it appears for example at Orchomenus. It possesses about 90 symbols, of which not a few are clearly derived from pictograms. The second script, called Linear B, has 64 signs; and of these 48 can be connected with the signs of Linear A, from which they are probably derived. This script is attested from the fourteenth century onwards by about a thousand tablets found at Knossos and by others discovered on the Greek mainland, at Mycenae, Asine, and Pylos.

Recent researches by able scholars (see pp. 68 f.) have led to the recognition that the Linear B texts are written in Greek, and that the script is a syllabic one which precedes the introduction of the alphabet: it was invented by a pre-Greek people and later taken over by the Greeks. It was therefore a method of writing already possessed by the Greeks when they began to occupy the Aegean islands and the coasts of Asia Minor.

Moreover the Greeks must still have been using some kind of syllabic method, and have been ignorant of the alphabetic one, when they settled in distant Cyprus. Cypro-Minoan and Cypro-Mycenaean inscriptions have been found there which seem to mark the intermediate stage between the Cretan Linear script and the later syllabic one—this last being a script with fifty-six signs, attested by a fair number of Greek and non-Greek inscriptions from the

seventh to the third centuries. Pre-alphabetic writings are undoubtedly mentioned in a passage of the *Iliad* (VI, 166 ff.), where they are considered by the poet's time to be incomprehensible.

To very much the same period, *c.* 1350 onwards, belong the texts found at Byblos, which were once called pseudo-hieroglyphic. As Dhorme has shown, they prove that a syllabic script, with 114 signs, was used for the Phoenician language. In the second half of the second millennium, therefore, various methods of syllabic writing were independently devised to make writing more expeditious and to reduce the number of symbols it had to use.

b. *First Attempts at an Alphabet*

Older theories of the origin of the alphabet derived it from some other form of writing, Egyptian or cuneiform or Cypriot syllabic, or from Cretan syllabic transported to Palestine by the Phoenicians. Archaeology has disposed of all these theories, since recent finds show that before the definitive invention of a Semitic proto-alphabet various attempts were being made to reduce to a minimum the signs used in writing; and that these attempts were independent of one another, and spread over the whole area from the frontiers of Egypt to that of north Syria.

It is enough to mention here:

(a) The Sinaitic inscriptions of the nineteenth to fifteenth centuries B.C., written in a Semitic language with a semi-alphabetic system which recalls Egyptian characters on the one hand and north Semitic on the other;

(b) The fifteenth- to thirteenth-century inscriptions of Ugarit, in a script which is a cross between alphabetic and cuneiform; its thirty-two signs are cut by persons familiar with cuneiform but are comparable with north Semitic characters; and such inscriptions are fairly widely spread, since we also find examples in Galilee;

(c) The Byblos inscriptions recorded above;

(d) Some still earlier inscriptions of Canaan, eleven in number so far, which come from Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, and Lachish, and are datable between the sixteenth and thirteenth centuries.

Contemporary with these scattered attempts came another, which had much greater success than all others like it. It appeared in some district or other belonging to the northern Semitic peoples of Syria or Palestine, and may belong to the period of the Hyksos invasions of Egypt. This system we propose to call Northern Proto-Semitic. The earliest documents in it which have come down to us belong to a slightly later date: they include the epitaph of King Akhiram (variously dated between the thirteenth and tenth centuries), the Calendar of Gezer (eleventh to ninth centuries), the ninth-century Moabite *stèle* of Mesha, a ninth-century *stèle* from Cyprus, and some Aramaic inscriptions from Zincirli (ninth to eighth centuries). This alphabet reduced the number of signs to twenty-two, all consonants and no

vowels, a feature explained by the nature of the Semitic language. Its inventor very probably had in his mind not only one or other of the more or less contemporaneous attempts to construct an alphabet, but above all the traditional systems of writing in use by the peoples who created civilization. The Egyptians, with their acrophonic method, had essentially been the first to give the lead in simplifying writing; some Minoan forms too had been used by our inventor as his model; and from the Assyro-Babylonians were preserved the names for certain signs.

The descendant of this Northern Proto-Semitic alphabet among the north Semitic peoples themselves were the Phoenician alphabet of historical times, with its derivatives, together with the Old Hebrew and Aramaic alphabets. But in addition it gave rise to the south Semitic (or Arabian) alphabet and to the first Greek alphabets with all the consequences that followed from them.

There is no doubt that the invention of the alphabet, which made writing so much easier and quicker and so much more understandable, was of fundamental importance in the history of civilization. The new method was no longer the preserve of the priestly class, or the means by which governments conducted their propaganda. It spread abroad among the merchants composing their notes and bills, among the workmen as a means of setting down and handing on their technical processes, among the bards making known their songs, and among the middlemen and clerical classes who wanted to publish their rules, laws and customs, and the records of their work. It was thus an instrument which all the time became more widely known, and was a means of first importance in bringing distant peoples nearer to one another, in removing the differences between their levels of culture and in increasing the rate of their progress.

The Phoenician Alphabet and its Derivatives. We have already recorded the earliest documents in the historical Phoenician alphabet which appear in epigraphy. The Phoenician alphabets of the colonies provide a number of sub-species, as follows:

- (1) the Cypro-Phoenician, in which we have documents from the tenth to second centuries BC;
- (2) the Sardo-Phoenician, in which the earliest document can be dated probably to the ninth century;
- (3) the Carthaginian or Punic, with its later form the neo-Punic;
- (4) the Libyan (which shows more primitive remainders) and partly the Iberian.

The last two deserve a special note. The Libyan alphabet has been used in the cutting of about 500 inscriptions in Hamitic dialects from North Africa, all of the Roman period; but it undoubtedly goes back to a period much older than the documents which have survived. The inscriptions include some bilinguals, on which the other language is Punic, Neo-Punic, or

Latin; and in the Libyan versions only the consonants are written, with special signs to represent certain groups of consonants. We may ignore the theories which derive this script from Egyptian hieroglyphic, from pre-alphabetic scripts of the Aegean, or from Arabian alphabets. It is beyond doubt that it had its origin in the alphabet used by the Phoenician colonies of the African coast: a few special signs, however, were added, and there were changes in the way certain letters were used; moreover some letters were affected by the alphabet of the old Phocaeen colonies on the African coast, such as Kybos.

The alphabets used by the Iberians may be divided into two types; the southern (Turdetanian or Tartessian) which records consonants only, and appears to be a variant of the Libyan; and the Iberian alphabet of Nearer Spain. From the latter we have about 150 short inscriptions, some of which are coin legends from the fourth century down to imperial times; on them are found 30 signs (25 consonants and 5 vowels), with no f or h or v, but with special signs for double v or double n, and for b, p, z, k, d, and t when followed by the different vowels. In the south-western corner of the Iberian peninsula the script of a dozen Algarve *stelae* seems to be alphabetic. On some coins of the Cadiz region letters have been considered to be a variant of the Libyan letters, but perhaps only their outlines are similar.

Evans thought this alphabet too came from Crete: Wilke and Cejador y Franca believed it was connected with ancient signs of geometric pattern and was conceived locally. It is much more likely that it had a twofold origin, and came partly from the Semitic (Punic) population, and partly from the Phocaeen or Massiliote Greeks. From the latter both the earlier 'Red' script and the later 'Blue' script (see below) will have made their contributions.

Old Hebrew and Aramaic Alphabets. Persian Cuneiform. We now come to the Old Hebrew and Aramaic alphabets, about which it is enough to say this. The former was in use up to the time of the Babylonian captivity but has left few texts.³⁸ The oldest is the so-called 'Alphabet of Gezer'; and we may add the earliest documents from Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

We have already recorded the earliest documents in the Aramaic alphabet. According to Albright it was in use from the tenth century onwards. It was widely used; and its greatest importance lies in the fact that it provided a pattern for the growth of the type of script used for official purposes in the Achaemenid empire, normally known as Old Persian Cuneiform. It is uncertain whether the latter dates from the days of Darius I, or before him to Cyrus the Great, or even a few decades earlier still. It is an artificial creation, not the result of natural growth, and combines the old cuneiform outlines with a number of alphabetic signs drawn from the Aramaic alphabet, though the latter was simultaneously being used for writings on papyrus and parchment. There are in fact about forty signs, of which only four (those for dj and w) are genuine ideograms, three are signs for vowels (a, i, u), and the rest are pure consonants or syllables formed by consonants and vowels.

Greek Alphabets. Even in ancient times tradition derived the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician, and there is nothing to commend the view that it came to the Greeks through the intermediary of alphabets of Asia Minor. Kirchhoff distinguished three types of Greek alphabet, and we propose to label them according to the colours in the chart accompanying his work: the Green comes from the islands of the southern Aegean, the Red from the west, and the Blue from the east. It is probable that Green, which includes the inscriptions from Thera, Crete, and Melos, is oldest, and comes next to the Phoenician original. It has only 22 letters in the Thera texts: in the Cretan a digamma is added to make 23. It seems clear that in the original 22-letter form certain Phoenician signs not needed in Greek had been used to represent the vowels (aleph for a, he for e, jod for i, vav for u, and ain for o); when the Cretans added the digamma, they were creating a variant of vav. Furthermore, het was used for the aspirate, and tet for th. The Green alphabet has no special signs for the compound sounds th, kh, ps (or qs), and ks, which were consequently produced by using two ordinary signs together.

This alphabet was simpler than all the others, and kept more closely to its model: it must have been the result of direct trading relations between the islands in question and the coasts of Syria, where the Phoenician alphabet had been adopted. The reason for these was not any frequent voyages by the Phoenicians in the Aegean during the tenth or ninth centuries.³⁹ On the contrary, it was that the Greeks made Crete and the neighbouring islands their base for commercial operations on the Syrian coast (see Chapter I). Mycenaean finds at Ugarit and Al Mina are evidence for operations of this kind, as are the Phoenician wares transported home by the Greeks.

The two other types of Greek alphabet were derived from this first type; and it would seem that the western type, or Red, is earlier than the eastern Blue. In actual fact, however, if certain observations made about Phocaea and the Aeolian colonies can be our guide, these terms 'eastern' and 'western' are irrelevant by quite early times. The colonies from Phocaea northwards must, at any rate at the outset, have used a Red alphabet, but the general spread of Ionian influences on the edge of this area must later have led them to change to Blue.

We come now to the areas covered by the two types of alphabet, and to the features of each, as Kirchhoff describes them:

(a) The Red or western type was used in Euboea, in the whole of the Greek peninsula except Attica, Megara, Corinth, and Argos, and in the non-Ionian colonies of the West. It added the three new signs ϕ , χ (or $+$), and Ψ (or Ψ) to express ph, kh, and ps; but it kept the Green alphabet's doubling of letters for ps (or ϕs), except that in Arcadia and Locris the symbol \ast appears for this sound.

(b) The Blue or eastern type covered Attica (together with Salamis and Aegina), the Peloponnesian districts excepted above, the Cyclades, the Asia

Minor coasts, and the Ionic colonies in the West. It had the four new signs Φ , χ , Ψ , Ξ for ph, kh, ps, and ks; and it added two more, for the long ϵ and long σ .

The Blue type, being more highly developed and diversified, seems clearly the later of the two. But, as we said above, one area of Asia Minor, where in classical times texts are written in the Blue alphabet, must initially have used a Red one because the Phocaeans came from Phocis. Later, when the Phocaeans became Ionicized, they changed their system, but the original arrangement had its results in the appearance of the Red alphabet in districts with which Phocaea had relations. These included Lemnos and Phrygia, and the stations along their western voyages—namely Elea, Neapolis, Corsica, Tartessus in Spain, and the neighbourhood of their colony Kybos in Numidia. The influence of the North Etruscan alphabet is discussed below.

Naturally within each one of these types of alphabet there developed local variants. Some of these were autonomous growths, but one must also remember that certain colonies, like Naucratis, were formed by traders from many parts of the Greek world, and that several others must have opened their gates to settlers from various cities, especially in early days. Tradition on this point is confirmed by the heterogeneous elements to be found in local cults and language, and in the usages and customs of individual cities. These customs necessarily included their alphabets: yet this historical truth is often forgotten by scholars who investigate the origin of alphabets in the western Mediterranean. That a colony was called Chalcidian, for example, or Corinthian, means only that the people who founded it or who gained the upper hand there were Chalcidian or Corinthian; and, as we can see at Smyrna and Phocaea, and at Himera and Zancle-Messene, this state of affairs was not always constant.

Alphabets for non-Greeks in Asia. Examination of the evidence so far known about the alphabets used in Asia Minor or western Anatolia leads to the simple conclusion that they were derived from the Greek alphabets. They were influenced from other quarters, too, but they were not the intermediate stage between Phoenician and Greek.

In Phrygia, for example, inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphic are found at least as late as the ninth century. This fact is enough to show that the Phrygian alphabet was not the source of the Greek; on the contrary, it derived from an already existing Red-type alphabet.

The Lydian alphabet, with twenty-six letters, derives in part from a Greek alphabet. It used θ for f; and for this and other reasons the alphabet is probably the Phocaeian or another from the 'proto-Red' district of Asia Minor.

The Carian alphabet included, besides the ordinary Greek letters, certain signs of syllabic type which are survivals from an earlier method of writing.

It appears to have affinities with the Green alphabet and is likely therefore to have been influenced from the Cretan area.

The Lycian alphabet likewise shows the combined influence of Greek alphabetic forms and earlier syllabic signs. Moreover its use of E (he), instead of I (jod), to denote the i sound is clear evidence of further departure from the norm.

Alphabets Derived from the Greek in Italy—Etruscan, Oscan, and Umbrian. This is not the right place in which to reopen the old problem of the origin of the Etruscan alphabet. Etruscan inscriptions show that four basic letters from the Greek alphabet, o, g, b, and d, were not used, since they had no sounds to correspond with them. Some alphabet lists (one at Ruselle, four at Chiusi, one at Bomarzo, three at Nola, and one at Orbetello) comprise the letters used in Etruscan inscriptions but leave out the four we have mentioned. This shows that the alphabet lists found in Tuscany which do include these letters are not Etruscan but Greek: they start with the list incised on an eighth- or seventh-century ivory tablet found in the Marsigliana, and there are parallels at Viterbo, Caere, Fornello near Veii (two documents), Colle Val d'Elsa, Narce, and Leprignano.

The question is what Greek alphabet is represented by these Greek 'exemplars' found in Etruria. Kirchhoff⁴⁰ perceived—and we still maintain he was right—that they are lists originally prepared at Cumae, and that consequently the Etruscan alphabet was derived from the Cumaeian. The alphabet lists, it is true, represent a more archaic phase than any for which we have evidence from Cumaeian inscriptions known to us. This may be called the 'Euboean' phase, though it is impossible to verify such a view of it because the earliest Euboean inscriptions are not older than the sixth century.

Grenier believed that the alphabet of the Marsigliana list was different from the Cumaeian and was a Greek 'proto-alphabet' based on forms earlier than the time when the Red alphabet diverged from the Blue. The objections made by the present writer to this theory seem to be decisive. It would be much simpler to believe, if any special explanation of the curious alphabet is needed, that Cumae, like other colonies, had a mixed population, with Euboean and non-Euboean elements in the same city.

Already nine or ten thousand Etruscan inscriptions are known. The majority were found in Tuscany, with a certain number from other regions, such as the Po valley, Latium, and Campania, into which the Etruscans extended their hegemony in the sixth and fifth centuries; but there are also some from places outside that area, as far afield as Piedmont, Sicily, Sardinia, Egypt, and Carthage. The longest text is that on the covering of a mummy, now in the museum at Zagreb; and texts of substantial size include a fifth-century tile from S. Maria at Capua, a *cippus* of Perugia, the sixth-century 'lead sheet of Magliano', a tablet from Volterra, and the so-called 'liver of

Piacenza'. The writing is sometimes *boustrophedon*, but normally from right to left. The earliest texts may go back to the seventh or eighth centuries.

The Etruscan alphabet was certainly responsible for both the Oscan and the Umbrian. In Oscan writing we have a couple of hundred inscriptions, three quarters of them from Campania, datable between the fifth century BC and the Christian era; and coin legends in this alphabet are found from the fifth to first centuries BC. The inscriptions are undoubtedly modelled on the alphabet the Etruscans were using in Campania during their hegemony there in the sixth and fifth centuries. They read from right to left. There is no d; there is a special sign for modifying the γ ; and a dot over \dot{V} is used to indicate o which is missing in the Etruscan alphabet. However, g and b, which the Etruscans did not use either, are drawn as such from the Greek alphabets.

The most important Umbrian texts are the *Tabulae Iguvinae*. Most of these are in a fourth-century Umbrian alphabet, with the remainder in the Latin alphabet of the first century BC. Here too the debt to the classical Etruscan alphabet is obvious: there is no o, g, or d, and an Etruscan 8 is used for f.

Other Derivations from the Greeks. Herodotus (I, 163) states that Phocaeans trade in the Adriatic discovered that sea for the Greeks, and undoubtedly Phocaeans were voyaging there at least half a century before they entered the Tyrrhenian Sea, which was farther from their mother city. Their activity in the Adriatic started therefore in the eighth century.

The present writer thinks that these Phocaeans were responsible for the beginnings of the Messapian and Picene alphabets, and of a North Etruscan prototype which had many descendants.

The Messapian alphabet is undoubtedly modelled on a Red Greek alphabet, but just as the Etruscans did not take over the Greek o so the Messapians did not take this alphabet's u, perhaps because o in Messapian speech had a closed sound not easily distinguishable from u and so could use one sign for two sounds. There are about 200 inscriptions in this alphabet, divisible into two groups, the southern from the district of Taranto, Brindisi, and Lecce, the northern from the neighbourhood of Lucera. Although the majority are third or fourth century BC, some appear to be much earlier, perhaps even from the period around 700. The Tarentine alphabet may have exercised some influence, for instance in shaping the Messapian lambda; but the view of Whatmough⁴¹ that the Tarentine is actually the source of the Messapian seems impossible.

An archaic Greek alphabet of Red type was also directly copied for the inscriptions of both northern and southern Picenum, some of which have very ancient forms and 'ductus' and quite certainly go back to the seventh century. They have all the internal consonants and the Greek o, many parallel forms for the remaining vowels, and a variant of the symbol V (like

that used in Umbrian); there are no special signs for ph, ps, and kh. It seems certain that the Picene alphabet was derived from the actual Greek model which with certain modifications served as a basis for the Atestine script and for writing in North Etruscan dialects.

Yet although the Atestine and Venetic inscriptions, and also those from the various North Etruscan regions, are derived from the same Greek model as the Picene texts, they cannot have been copied from it directly, but only through the medium of an alphabet constructed to meet the requirements of the Etruscan language. This intermediate language is not, however, to be confused with the one adopted in Etruria proper. It seems to have been employed before the Etruscans of Tuscany exercised their hegemony in the Po valley. For this view there is evidence in the letters incised on the bronzes discovered in the 'foundry of San Francesco' near Bologna, which go back to the seventh century: some internal consonants are missing, the alphabet has an o sign as well as a u, and it does not employ the Etruscan signs ⊕ and 8. It is consequently Etruscoid, but markedly different from the Etruscan alphabet properly so called. The Atestine alphabet lists are of Etruscoid origin, for they do not possess all the letters needed for satisfactory recording of the Venetic language; and the model used for the North Etruscan inscriptions in the Bolzano, Magré, Sondrio, and Lugano dialects, where these letters are also missing, seems to have been Etruscoid too. Yet the markedly hybrid character of these texts, which contain partly Etruscan words, but partly also Ligurian or Celtic or Illyrian, would have made the use of internal consonants desirable; and in fact these letters are found in the latest Sondrio-type texts, which have been influenced by Latin. The original model, however, was ancient: this is proved not only by the signs on the 'foundry' inscriptions, but from the *boustrophedon* writing and other features.

Most scholars now seem to be agreed that the North Etruscan alphabets were models, in their turn, for the earliest writing of the Germanic peoples of northern Europe, with its 'runic' characters. Of these the earliest surviving examples, the inscriptions on the Negau helmet and (if it is genuine) the pen from Saalerberg in Carinthia, seem to be second century BC; but the writing is *boustrophedon* or alternatively from right to left, and such archaic features make it likely that the characters were employed from the sixth century at latest. No other explanation of the origin of runic writing carries conviction.

Latium and Latin Alphabets. The Greek alphabet was the parent of others of comparatively minor significance, like those of the Siculi, Sicani, and Elymians in Sicily. But the derivation of the Latin alphabet from the Cumæan was more important than any other process, for it spread over a vast area and allowed methods of writing to develop all over the world.

The oldest documents in Latin alphabets are the well-known inscribed *fibula* of the seventh century from Praeneste, and two fifth-century texts

from Rome, the *boustrophedon cippus* of the Forum, and the inscription on the 'Duenos' vase.

The presence of signs for internal d and for o is enough to show that the Latin alphabet derived directly from a Greek original and not through the medium of Etruscan. The parallels adduced to prove dependence on Etruscan are for the most part misconceived, in the present author's opinion, since the alphabets assumed to have been the model were not Etruscan but Greek, like that of the Marsigliana. Moreover it is plain that in the period before the Etruscan domination of Latium, which belongs to the late seventh and the whole of the sixth centuries, the Latin peoples took their alphabet from the Greeks of Campania, with whom they were in direct contact.

All the same it may be that the subsequent Etruscan domination in Latium affected the development of the Latin alphabet in some of its details, for instance in its use of c for k and g and in its names for the letters. One characteristic in the texts which have come down to us is that three signs from the Greek model are not used, namely Θ , ϕ , ψ , though they are preserved as arithmetical signs with the values of 100, 1000, and 50.

The Faliscan dialect, from Falerii, where the earliest document seems to go back to the sixth century, has a status of its own. It shows differences from the Latin alphabet in its signs for f, z, h, r, and t; and like some other Italian alphabets it preserves the archaic system of writing from right to left. It disappears with the Roman conquest in 241 BC.

c. *Ancient Writing in America*

A brief note must be made about the earliest methods of writing in the American continents. Their chronology cannot be precisely determined, and we shall therefore not return to the subject in Parts II and III.

Above all we must mention certain mnemonic devices, like the notching of sticks. There were the *quipus* or *kipus*, found especially in Peru and Bolivia, which consist of a collection of strings of different colours, with various types of knot either single or in groups: these were genuine *aides-mémoire* for arithmetical data, for calculating the days or for matters of statistical importance. There were the *wampum* of the Iroquois in North America which consist of figured and striped embroidery. In North America too there were pictorial ideograms, carved mainly on rocks, which were used to illustrate story-telling and to keep records of arithmetical data: these often contain representational figures with syllabic equivalents and look like actual word-puzzles. Finally there are the illustrated books of Panama, Colombia, etc., which helped in the recitation of magical and religious texts.

But the Mayas and Aztecs of Mexico in early days possessed real books made of folded bark: these were covered with pictograms for ritual purposes, with calendars for divination, with tribute registers and with annalistic

records. They also had *stelae* inscribed in bas-relief, on which pictographic and syllabic elements are found side by side.

But in all this the only objects likely to belong to late antiquity are a bas-relief on a *stele* at Vera Cruz and an inscribed plaque now at Leyda. These are assigned by some scholars to the period around AD 320.

d. *Writing Materials*

No ancient Chinese manuscript has been preserved. Bones and tortoise-shells were inscribed for purposes connected with divination, and bronze vases mainly for religious usages. But the normal writing materials were tablets of wood and bamboo; these had made their appearance under the Shang dynasty, as can be seen from a pictogram of Anyang showing a bundle of tablets held together by strings and representing 'book' or 'writing'. The damp climate of northern China has prevented any of these tablets from being preserved.

Originally the Chinese wrote with a bamboo reed sharpened and cut like a pen: the matter written with this had to be of uniform thickness. On the bones employed in divination characters were incised with a metal point. But the writing-brush, although its invention is traditionally ascribed to Meng-T'ien under the Ch'in dynasty (third century BC), already existed in the twelfth century. It is not only represented on a pictogram of Anyang, but at least three bones and a potsherd carry characters traced with a brush. So Meng-T'ien did no more than perfect the shape and composition of an instrument which was already in being.

Writing materials in the Middle Eastern and classical worlds were very varied. One reason was that after the invention and spread of alphabetic methods the use of writing proportionately increased, and consequently also demanded lower-priced material even if it was more perishable. Naturally the increase in written documents and the lower price of writing material went hand-in-hand with the increase in the number of readers.

We start, then, with writings carved with chisels or similar instruments on rocks or plates or stone and marble *stelae*. They might also be cut on the fronts of buildings, or on tablets of bronze, copper, lead, or precious metal, and later on coins and weights; or again they could be scratched or tooled on tablets and seals of unbaked clay or terracotta. To these were now added other writings achieved in diverse ways.

Some were traced with the *stilus* on smooth wooden tablets, or on tablets smeared with white paint (*tabulae dealbatae*) or coloured. Others were written with the small reed called a 'calamus', and with ink (*atramentum*), on light and plastic material. Leaves of papyrus pulp, or some similar substance, are an example (cf. the *Charta Fanniana* mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.*, XIII, 11, 21); and there was writing on olive leaves (the petalism at Syracuse for instance), on linen bandages (especially those used as coverings for

mummified corpses in Egypt), on earthenware sherds (*ostraka*) and so on. Later on Phoenician influence was particularly responsible for the use of calf-skin for expensive documents; and sheepskin (*Pergamena*) came in from Pergamum in Asia Minor. Skins were used for inscribing the ancient treaty between Rome and Gabii and also for a cypher employed at Sparta:⁴² for the latter strips of skin were wrapped in a spiral on to a cylinder of given size and then inscribed, in such way that they could only be read if they were wrapped once more round an identical cylinder (*scutalē*).

In ancient Egypt it was already the custom, when one wanted to write a complete document or a definitive part of a work, to paste one pressed papyrus leaf (*byblos*) on to another and so to construct long strips; these were wrapped together into a roll (*volumen*) and kept in a store (*thēcē*). Herodotus (II, 92) speaks of this device, though he does not tell us when Greece acquired it: probably it penetrated to Ionia in the days of Polycrates of Samos in the sixth century, and to the rest of Greece about 500. Where tablets or smoothed skins were used, they were joined together into *codices*; and these, on account of their high price, were often used more than once, the first set of writings being cancelled and a further set being written over them (*palimpsest*).

For the material used in ancient American writings see p. 100.

e. *Archives and Libraries*

As written documents, both public and private, became more common, and as literary output increased, it was necessary to consider better ways of preserving and consulting writings, by bringing them together in suitable places. The classes of documents in question were varied and important. The earliest which it was essential to construct and preserve were state treaties, laws and decrees, administrative acts, records of foreign relations, chronicles both lay and sacerdotal, the acts of kings, and the lists of priests and magistrates. All these were written on relatively durable material, and were collected in royal palaces, or in temple precincts and sacristies, or in the seats of magistrates and of public assemblies.

Collections of official documents of these kinds are known from finds. In Egypt the so-called Tell el Amarna archives (fourteenth century) contained the correspondence with subject regions and neighbouring powers from the time of Amenhotep III. In Crete we have the archives of the Minoan palaces, and in the Hittite empire the archives of the kings and leading cities.

In the ensuing period proper libraries came into being, or at any rate departments for the preservation of literature which adjoined the archives. One of the most characteristic libraries known to us is that of Ashur-banipal (668–630), who put on to its contents his stamp of ownership, his 'ex libris'. Among these are 30,000 tablets of documents contained in chests arranged on shelves. These include receipts, levy lists, and his official and private

correspondence. But in addition there are pieces of epic and mythological poems; of liturgies and prayers; of magical writings, psalms, oaths, and auguries; of annals, chronicles, and lists of dates; of works on grammar and dictionaries; and of astronomical calculations, tables of weights, and other arithmetical writings. The king had sent scribes to many places to copy ancient tablets. Another noteworthy library is that of Nippur; and there were others owned by private persons and by temples.

These Assyrian archives and libraries probably had their precursors at Babylon and Boğazköy. They were followed by similar institutions in the Persian capitals, among which we know best the one instituted at Persepolis in the days of Darius I.

The first collections of literature, and therefore the first libraries, in the Greek world must have been made in the time of the sixth-century tyrants, Polycrates of Samos and the Peisistratids of Athens. Later on we are told of libraries belonging to individual literary men, of whom the first is Euripides.

At the same time archives to preserve copies of important private documents were on the increase. Examples of such documents are conveyances, boundary plans, manumissions, adoptions, and wills.

f. *Writing and Schooling*

Education and the system of schools were also feeling the effect of writing, and of written documents and work.

In early days the traditional ideas about religion and techniques were learned in the family, or in priestly colleges, or in unions of artisans, by means of mnemonic methods. The teaching was oral, and the pupils committed to memory what they learned. In our period this was still the stage reached in education in India. The Indian system of education was developing along clearly defined lines. Writing was not used for religious purposes, and oral tradition was therefore completely supreme: yet instruction was confined to sacred matters. The study of the *Veda* was given only to the first three castes, the *Śūdra* being excluded. From the beginning we see the sacred texts being taught by a master and repeated by the pupils in chorus 'like the croaking of frogs' (*Rigveda*, VII, 103). In Vedic times the religious students (*Brāhmacārin*) were the educated class of India.

Their duties were to study the *Veda*, to serve their Brahmin masters (*guru*), and to maintain chastity. In very early times the acceptance of a student into a school was conditioned by a complicated initiation ceremony, the *upanayana*, through which the pupil received his second (spiritual) birth and was therefore twice-born (*dvija*). In the Late Vedic period supplementary subjects, such as mathematics, grammar, and prosody, were added to the curriculum. Education was originally confined to the Brahmins, but was widened as time went on to include the *Kṣattriya* and *Vaiśya* too: towards the end of our period a genuine intellectual aristocracy came into being, with

the *Kṣattriya* occupying a position at least equal to that of the Brahmins. These are the circles in which Upanisadic thought took shape. The *sūtra* of Late Vedic times prescribe a detailed curriculum, which already embraced all traditional Indian knowledge, that is to say the six *Vedāṅga* (phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, prosody, astronomy), together with other ancillary sciences.

With other peoples, however, the use of writing became an aid to education at an earlier stage. With some the basis of education remained theocratic, for instance in Egypt or among the Hebrews—especially after the Captivity, when it was carried on in synagogues. On the other hand in the Graeco-Roman world lay education predominated; it was sometimes private and sometimes public, the many forms it assumed being dictated by the varying bents and environments of the different peoples.

Within the precocious culture of the Ionian Greeks we find a form apparently already known in the Homeric poems, which was intermediate between instruction at home and instruction at school, and which was provided by a 'pedagogue' privately employed. Side by side with this there existed the genuine school, where physical education (the *palestra*) was originally the main feature but gradually tended to get separated from instruction in music and grammar. A law of Charondas mentioned by Diodorus (XII, 12–13) is often cited as evidence that masters were paid by the state and experiments in compulsory education were already known in the seventh century; but in all probability this is not the original law made at Catana, but a revision of it made in the middle of the fifth century at Thurii. Doubt has also been cast on the passage of Aeschines purporting to describe Solonian legislation on education. The first certain case of a state school, recorded by Plutarch, relates to Troezen in 480. Meanwhile particular importance was assumed by the schools of a domestic, or professional, nature which were gradually created to preserve and advance the writings of various groups—the Epic poets (*Homeridai*), the doctors (in the *Asclepieia*), the philosophers, and the mathematicians (cf. the Pythagoreans).

The Dorian world, Sparta or Crete for example, presents a contrast. There, at any rate from the ninth or seventh century onwards, the paramount feature was a militarist education provided by the state; and letters were sacrificed in favour of physical and athletic instruction.

A characteristic instance of individual arrangements is provided by archaic Rome. After the end of the domination exercised in the sixth century by the more civilized Etruscans, the well-to-do families preserved the custom of sending their sons to get instruction at Caere.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. The processes of ethnogenesis cannot be reduced exclusively to linguistic processes, although a common language is, of course, an important feature of any ethnic group. Ethnogenesis is primarily a social process, involving the formation of nationalities out of individual tribes and tribal federations. For this reason problems of ethnogenesis and glottogony are directly linked with the problems involved in the formation of a class society and also, in many cases, with conquest and linguistic assimilation.
The concept of the racial group (i.e. the anthropological characteristics of the ethnos) is confused here—and throughout the chapter—with the concept of the linguistic family (i.e. the linguistic characteristics of the ethnos). But the linguistic characteristics of a particular ethnic group need not correspond with the supposed anthropological characteristics: neither of them are static or incapable of further development and modification. (K. M. Kolobova.)
2. Professor K. M. Kolobova makes the important point that in many cases only the upper section of a conquered people will become bilingual as a result of the adoption of their conqueror's language for official acts. This may well be the case with Late Minoan Crete, with Syria and Anatolia in Achaemenid times, or perhaps with various parts of Italy down to the first century B.C. It seems valid for Egypt at almost all periods, and perhaps also for certain provinces of the Roman empire.
3. So, too, Sir Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind*, vol. I, part 2, p. 387. Another possibility is the European region lying roughly between Thuringia and Kiev. See also P. Bosch-Gimpera, *El problema indoeuropeo* (Mexico, 1960, also in French translation), where the author argues against a single area of origin but favours districts of central and eastern Europe.
4. It is not certain that the term embraces the people whom comparative philology has regarded as the common ancestors of Indians and Iranians; the classification of countries given in the *Avesta* (*Vidēvād* I) is not necessarily a genuine memory of an 'Indo-Iranian' past, given the late character of the written text (see below).
5. This classification could be disputed. Some scholars would include Thracian, Phrygian, and perhaps Illyrian in the eastern group, and Tokharic has strong claim to be considered western. On Phrygian see again p. 62.
6. These bilingual texts are very short, but they seem to confirm an interpretation of the language which had earlier been made on the strength of its similarity to Hurrian.
7. This is the view of many earlier scholars (cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, III (1929), p. 187), but is, in Professor F. W. König's view, very doubtful.
8. The texts in question are concerned almost solely with proper names.
9. Some Indian scholars have tried to prove an Indian origin for the Indo-European languages and the people who carried them abroad: see the summary of their arguments by Srikanth Sastri in R. C. Majumdar and A. C. Pusalker, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, I, *The Vedic Languages* (London, 1951), pp. 215–17. But they have received little support in India and none in other countries.
10. The word 'Gimirri' appears in the Babylonian translation of the Achaemenid inscriptions, but (as Professor F. W. König points out) it is doubtful whether this really proves a relationship, particularly a linguistic relationship, between the Scyths and the Cimmerians.
11. Professor F. W. König is sceptical about the traces of this language in 'Armenian texts', i.e. in such writers as Moses of Chosroene.
12. The view that Venetia was colonized from Illyria was supported by J. Whatmough, *The Prae-Italic Dialects* (London, 1933), pp. 1–201, but is strongly contested by M. Beeler, *The Venetic Language* (Berkeley, 1949), and by H. Krahe, *Sitzungsberichte Heidelberg* (1950), p. 3.
13. Professor Pareti is here probably thinking of Iron Age Greek settlement in Cyprus, though his date 1000 B.C. seems unduly late for activity which must have formed part

of the great 'Achaean' migrations. There is also, as Professor Ch. Th. Saricakis emphasizes, evidence of much earlier contact between Cyprus and people commonly thought to be Greek: a Minoan script has been found at Enkomi, cf. N. Hammond, *A History of Greece* (Oxford, 1959), p. 32.

14. See above, p. 52, note 5.
15. Unfortunately it is now fairly clear that the issue posed by Professor Pareti has now been resolved, and in a manner adverse to his thesis. There are still some scholars who recognize Ionic elements in the Linear B language, but none who makes any claim for Doric: a usual view is that the language is 'Arcado-Cyprian'. See, for example, M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (London, 1956), pp. 67 ff.; E. Risch, 'Frühgeschichte der griechischen Sprache' in *Museum Helveticum* (1959), pp. 215 ff.; L. R. Palmer, *Myceneans and Minoans* (London, 1961), pp. 143 ff.
16. It would be difficult, however, to connect the writings of these authors with spoken Laconian.
17. This inscription is undoubtedly early, but may belong to the early fifth century rather than to the sixth.
18. Herodotus is here claiming that certain rivers flow from the Umbrian country into the Danube. It must be regarded as dubious whether his confused geography reflects an earlier settlement of the Umbrians in the Alpine region, especially as another passage (I, 94) makes the Etruscans arrive by sea in the Umbrian territory and therefore (on any view) surely shows awareness of the Umbrian settlement in central Italy.
19. The theory that the Etruscans migrated from the north is not generally accepted, and the question of their origin remains for the present a debatable one. But see Appendix to Chapter I (M. W. Frederiksen.)
20. See M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia* (Milan, 1955), with bibliography.
21. For detail, see J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy* (London, 1937), pp. 132 ff.
22. This date will be discussed in the chapter on literature; VI, pp. 273 ff.
23. See Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 ff.
24. For this form of classification, see H. Krahe, *Indo-Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* (Berlin, 1958), I, pp. 26 ff.
25. For Hallstatt and La Tène, see p. 54, note 32.
26. For a different analysis of Celtic dialects, see R. G. Collingwood, *Oxford History of England*, I (1936), pp. 18 ff.
27. What Caesar says he was told is that *plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedissee, Gallosque qui ea loca incoherente expulisse*. This has commonly been taken to mean that the Belgae came across the Rhine, from the north, and expelled the existing Celtic settlers. Professor Pareti argues that Caesar does not bring the Belgae, as such, from the north: he means rather that the original Belgic invaders (who were Celts arriving from the south-east as part of a substantial Gallic invasion datable to c. 500 BC) later suffered an admixture from Germans who came across the Rhine from the north. The full argument is given in his article in *Atti della reale Accademia d'Italia* (1943), pp. 203 ff.
28. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera insists that Hallstatt remains, in Great Britain and probably in Ireland too, are only to be explained by a Celtic invasion well before 500 BC. See also R. G. Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
29. On the many controversial questions surrounding Celtic migrations, see P. Bosch-Gimpera in *Études Celtiques* (Paris, 1950-55). The account given by Livy, who dated the beginning of the invasion of Italy to the early sixth century, is described by J. de Navarro (*Cambridge Ancient History*, VII (1930), pp. 41 ff.) as 'a tissue of inaccuracies'. But Professor Pareti's view that the first crossings of the Alps must have occurred long before 400 BC has surely much to commend it, although there are reasons (elaborated by Navarro) for thinking that the passes used were in the Brenner group rather than in the west.

30. In Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera's view the main Celtic immigration into Spain, which doubtless came in many waves, had been completed long before 450 BC.
31. As Professor K. M. Kolobova points out, the language commonly known as 'Assyrian' is in fact identical with Accadian.
32. This song, and also Miriam's song, are possibly as early as the thirteenth century BC.
33. Professor K. M. Kolobova insists that this connection is very difficult to contest, and it is certainly true that the Semitic, ancient Egyptian, and Libyco-Berber languages have in common certain very significant phenomena of grammar, and that in addition Semitic and Hamitic numerals are connected with one another. See the summary by F. Lexa 'Philologica', *Journal of Comparative Philology* (1922), pp. 151-77. Professor Pareti's view is perhaps related to that of C. Brockelmann, *Anthropos* (1932), pp. 797 ff., who suggested that the affinities were due only to borrowings by one language from another. But though borrowing could account for the relatively limited number of agreements in vocabulary, it is most difficult to believe that a language would have borrowed grammatical phenomena as fundamental as those illustrated by Lexa: experience shows that the grammar of a language remains unaffected even though it may borrow countless words from another (as English has from Greek). It remains likely therefore that people with Semitic grammar invaded North Africa, probably before the earliest Egyptian historical records (well before 3000 BC) and that the large number of non-Semitic words in later Libyco (or Hamitic) vocabulary was due to complicated sound-changes or to massive borrowings from the language of the substratum in the area.
34. Professor F. W. König emphasizes that this script has not yet been read: all we can say is that two scripts were used in Elamite territory by the side of Sumeric cuneiform.
35. Professor F. W. König points out that the number 113 is that of the characters used in Elamite translations of inscriptions belonging to the period around 500 BC. Before the Achaemenid period the number was doubtless much greater.
36. See *History of Mankind*, vol. I, part 2, p. 658.
37. The view that phonetic characters were unknown during the Yin and only appeared during the Chou is a highly debatable one. Yin inscriptions have enabled specialists (Hu Hou-hsuan) to make out several phonetic characters among Yin signs. (L. S. Vasilyev.)
38. The oldest Hebrew alphabet was a variant of the Phoenician alphabet. (K. M. Kolobova).
39. But see above, p. 53, note 14.
40. See especially *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* (Gütersloh, 1887), pp. 119 ff.
41. *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, II (Oxford, 1933), pp. 531 ff.
42. Gabii treaty, Dion. Hal., IV, 58, 4; Spartan *scutalē*, Thucydides, I, 131, 1 with scholiast's comment.

CHAPTER III

TECHNOLOGY; TRADE; SCIENCE

I. THE MAJOR TECHNIQUES¹

SOME people, fortunate in their circumstances and helped by their own efforts, reach a superior level of civilization in technical development, in commercial enterprises, and in spiritual and artistic life. When they have reached this level they fulfil the task of spreading their own culture to the neighbouring people with whom they come in contact. They establish an advance guard for human development and, as the history of their generation dictates, one after another pass on the torch of knowledge.

Then there are the people who form an intermediate group. Such vitality as their way of life permits is derived from the first group; and their rate of progress, often very slow, depends on the strength and regularity of these influences from outside.

Finally there will be others, the rear-guard, peripheral people living for millennia in almost unchanged and static conditions. They repeat, without apparent development, their activities according to primeval systems thousands of years old. There will even be cases of people who go backwards as a result of worsening conditions around them, as happened to the Bushmen when they became impoverished.

The chance nature of archaeological finds, especially in the more backward areas of civilization, and the still often insuperable difficulty in fixing synchronisms in development, naturally oblige us often to content ourselves with approximate data. But for the greater part of the 'rear-guard' people, even without archaeological data, we can accept the general assumption that they must have been at a level no higher—perhaps even lower—than that attained today or in periods near our time.

So the inhabitants of vast zones were living then, as later, in a 'primitive' manner by hunting, fishing, and gathering the fruits of the earth; for a long period they ate these in their natural state, and then gradually learnt methods to improve conservation and assimilation of their food (milling, dry-curing, cooking, etc.). Gathering fruits must have been the rule, for example, for the inhabitants of the equatorial forests of central Africa, Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, and Brazil. On the other hand in the temperate zones, in the more or less deserted steppes of South Africa, Australia, or northern Eurasia, hunting must have predominated, with pits, traps, arrows, or spears; with temporary halts in such periods and places as the 'one-way traffic' of game dictates. Again, along the beaches and the banks of the rivers, especially in the sub-Arctic area, the basis of life must have been fishing. Finally in the

Arctic zone man is forced to regulate his existence by the only means that nature offers, namely by hunting reindeer, and capturing whales and seals: in these regions life must always have been the same at all times.

Among a number of peoples, however, hunting and fishing would be mainly carried on by the men and the gathering of fruits by the women, provided climate and the ratio between the sexes allowed: in this way the two types of occupation would be complementary. Moreover gathering must have been made easier by the use of certain tools: a rod for knocking down fruit; and a pointed pole and a hoe, either all wood or ending in a smoothed stone, for drawing roots and tubers from the ground.

The people who even to this day live chiefly from hunting, fishing, and gathering were undoubtedly nomadic or even simple wanderers, although the scope and regularity of their wanderings varied with their numbers and their environment. Increase in population would lead to excessive exploitation of an area and force major displacements upon its inhabitants; and climatic change would modify the characteristics of its flora and fauna. Human movement on the steppes and prairies of the temperate zones must have normally been wide and irregular, for game there tends to be abundant but very mobile. In the wet and wooded country of the tropics game is scarcer but more stationary, and human movement is likely to have ranged less far. In the polar and sub-polar regions life is seasonal, and therefore only partly nomadic; for in the winter months the fauna emigrate and fishing too becomes less easy.

Where human groups became thicker, and were not constantly fighting each other, each tribe or clan came to possess territory of its own, vast but with definite boundaries, inside which they would move around as occasion demanded. This state of affairs, however, was upset every time one of the groups wanted to break the conventional barriers and seek its own advantage by raiding and the use of force.

The nomadism of the people who already used domesticated animals had assumed peculiar aspects. In the temperate or sub-polar zones in which they mainly raised herbivorous and gregarious animals (cows, sheep, goats, horses, reindeer), opportunities for grazing depended on the varying supplies of vegetation on the steppes, mountain, or tundra; and these supplies in turn depended on the mean temperature of the country at various seasons, and upon its latitude and height. This compelled the herdsmen and their flocks to move about in search of food according to the weather. On the other hand in the deserts and steppes movements could only take place in the rainy periods; in the dry seasons they had to settle where there were permanent sources of water, such as oases and pools. These people, then, became only partly nomadic.

Nomadic movement could of course for incidental reasons such as war, pressure from foreign migrations, or meteorological catastrophes, turn into a regular migration to completely new geographical surroundings. This might

decisively influence the general conditions of a people, quickening their development, or entirely changing their habits and customs: for example, inhabitants of the steppes might become forest-dwellers, mountain people plainsmen, men from the interior coastal-dwellers; or people accustomed to mild climates might find themselves in extreme ones or the other way round.

But man's environment, and with it his food, his lodging, and his social life, decisively change when instead of remaining 'nature's parasite' he decides to overcome the natural conditions around him, securing his food, whatever those conditions may be, by appropriate means invented by his brain. In this way domestication of animals and agricultural technique were born, both probably originating in temperate regions.

Very probably there was no fixed or logical connection between the origins of agriculture and of domestication. Different peoples may have taken up the two institutions with varying degrees of vigour, since each responds to distinct motives and needs; in any case the one was initially the concern mainly of women, the other mainly of men.

Primitive people got their food by gathering wild vegetables, which they might (or might not) put into store. Agriculture was born when certain peoples thought of making collection easier by controlling crops within definite areas through operations at appropriate seasons. Domestication of animals, on the other hand, came about in two ways. Hunters, instead of trusting to chance to find their prey, used the right kind of animal to help them in the chase; and secondly men saw that they could guarantee themselves supplies of food and other useful animal products at all seasons and weathers by keeping at their side other types of animals, which provided meat and produce of various kinds.

Later on close links naturally developed between the two occupations, agriculture and pasturage, which as time went on were both taken over by the male sex, except (in the main) for horticulture and the use of the hoe. Human existence and the growth of population were both decisively affected thereby.

There were undoubtedly regions, such as China, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Greece, the colonies of Phoenicia and Carthage, Etruria, and Rome, from which successive advances in agriculture were communicated to other peoples.² But the problem of the birthplace of agriculture itself is not our direct concern.³ Rather, however, than accept the proposition of a single zone from which it spread to others we are inclined to believe in polygenesis: for example it appears certain that soft grains were first cultivated in south-west Asia, hard grains in the eastern hills of Africa, and husked grains in the eastern Mediterranean.

Even in the periods with which we are dealing there must still have been people who did not know more than the first steps in agriculture. Either they pushed live roots or the seeds of food-bearing plants into the soil with a

stick; or they cleared the ground with an axe and drained the marshland, to grow cereals, vegetables, and roots; or they used a sickle to cut fodder from the meadows for their beasts. They would move periodically from ground that seemed to be exhausted. Other people, however, used casual manure from wandering animals, and then, later, a regular supply from cattle which had been enclosed; this, together with the first simple irrigation systems, succeeded in making the land more consistently fertile; and they eventually attained a more advanced and intensive system of horticulture. Still others, perceiving the possibility of using animals for draught, had transformed the primitive rake or hoe into a plough which could be drawn. Ploughing, even in its simplest forms, made it possible to cultivate increasingly large areas and grow the cereals needed to feed the higher populations resulting from more settled existence. From then on were established those links of affection between man and the land he occupies. They led to one of the highest concepts, that of patriotism.

Naturally the phases just described had been surpassed for a long time in the more civilized areas. But these were always different from one another; each had typical products and typical systems of cultivation.

In Egypt, where the fertility of the soil was helped by soil-irrigation and by human labour, cereal production (wheat, barley, and millet) was such as to allow exports; at the same time there were also remarkable results in hemp, flax, and vegetables.

In the coastal districts of Syria, which were mountainous and less adapted to cereals, the great developments had been in gardening, fruit-growing (cedars, vines, olives), and in the systematic use of conifer woods from which the materials for constructing ships and buildings were derived; so skilful were the Phoenicians, and their Punic colonies,⁴ at agriculture that they produced early didactic treatises on the subject, such as that by Mago, in the third century BC, and they gave marked importance to agricultural products and timber in their complex maritime trade. In the plains of the Syrian interior, on the other hand, they cultivated barley, vines, olives, and figs, and in the less fertile regions they raised stock. In the Mesopotamian area, much of the country was irrigated by canals, the holdings were very much spread out, and the inhabitants were proud of their grains; but arboriculture was rare and the olive practically non-existent. In Persia gardening, the cultivation of cereals, and pasturing of animals flourished at the same time. In India the scale of agricultural production was even more extensive: it included rice, wheat, barley, vegetables, citrus fruits, cotton, sugar cane, coco, and spice plants.

Greece had above all a population of fishermen and cattle-breeders; and although many attempts were made to expand the cultivable upland areas by terracing, the land was too barren to support a heavy population by agriculture. For this reason it had soon to import foodstuffs, giving in exchange wine, oil, and the products of its manufacturers and artists. None the less

agriculture was considered the 'mother and nurse of all the arts' even in the more industrial areas such as Attica and Samos, and it was still the most respected occupation, while land-owning was regarded as the basis for citizenship, and for belonging to the highest social class. For this reason didactic writing interested itself at an early stage in agricultural life, as is shown by Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Technically there was no great progress because the small holdings, except in Thessaly and in Macedonia, were worked superficially with wooden ploughs, which gradually received iron ploughshares, and were mainly sown with barley and emmer. Wheat was confined to the more fertile regions with a primitive system of crop rotation. But the products of its olives and vineyards were fundamental to Greece.

The Greek colonies in Magna Graecia gave an impetus to cereal culture in the flatter areas, from Tarentum to Thurii and in Campania; to viticulture and olive-growing in all the more hilly zones; to forestry and pasturage in the mountain regions. Sicily under Greek colonization early became a famous exporter of cereals; but was concerned also with viticulture and olive-growing, and with the livestock produce attested by its export of cheese and skins.

In the Po valley and in the central districts of Italy the greatest advances in agricultural techniques were made by the Etruscans. Having lived earlier, according to our view, in *palafitte* and *terramare*,⁵ among the lakes and in artificial lake-type stations planted in alluvial zones, they became experts in dam building, in canal cutting, and in reclaiming land both by drainage and by underground tunnels; the latter they used extensively in Latium, which was marshy in the period of their domination. From the time they lived in the *palafitte* they cultivated emmer, barley, and wheat. They had knowledge of the vine; and as breeders they took care of their pasture land.

Among the other peoples of Italian type, the high population of the Latins, who lived in a large number of villages, on soil not richly endowed by nature, shows the development their agriculture had attained. It is true that the marshland of Latium was not yet malarial and that the Etruscans, who became its overlords, worked at reclaiming these lands; moreover the woods were much thicker so that the tufa of the plain was better covered by humus and was not washed away by rain; and the hills of volcanic origin were suitable for vines. That animal-rearing and agriculture were equally cared for was brought about by many factors. The most usual products were emmer, barley, and (later) wheat as well as beans, garlic, onions, figs, olives, and grapes. The ground was cultivated with a primitive type of plough and with the spade.

It is well known that domestication normally affects animals of gregarious habits, and those which are relatively trustful of men. These animals were used for their flesh, milk, hides, and horns; and also for the help they gave to men's work, in drawing, carrying, and performing various agricultural tasks. With domestication men began to limit their freedom. Their feeding

habits were altered and regulated, their reproduction was supervised and directed. But much of the harshness of their struggle for existence was removed.

Domestication of several animal species, such as dogs, sheep, cattle, and goats, was probably invented and organized in many countries, without one depending on another. These species were wild in many parts of the world; and there were many tribes which had attained, especially through agriculture with the hoe, the degree of sedentary life which suggests that their movements were confined to the narrow radius required by domesticated flocks and herds.

Later every people, either through their own initiative or through the influence of others, developed methods to suit themselves, increasing the number of domesticated animals in accordance with their needs. Some remained tied to a few types and to an archaic system; others, more advanced in civilization, evolved more complex forms. The first animal to be domesticated (sometimes perhaps self-domesticated) seems to have been the dog: at the outset perhaps from affection, and then as a help to hunters and as a guardian of flocks. But there must have been peripheral people, like the Tasmanians in recent times, who were quite ignorant of even this form of domestication.

The breeding of cattle, which had reached a high stage of development at the beginning of the Bronze Age, must have undergone some setback at its end, when, for example, the domesticated buffalo disappeared among the Assyrians.

Pig-breeding spread from Asia to Europe, accompanied by the mating of sows from Asia with the local wild boars. The horse, little adapted to marshland and wooded areas, must originally have been domesticated in the Eurasian steppes. From there the Indo-Europeans (whose languages show that they knew the horse before they dispersed) brought the animal to both Europe and Asia; the Turkish peoples were also responsible for its diffusion. Local breeds were domesticated in every region afterwards, even those too small to be used for riding (cf. Herodotus, V, 9). Bones found in the *palafitte* sites make it very likely that in early times the horse was used for its meat and for its by-products. Then it became a transport animal, as is shown by the bits for small horses discovered also in the *palafitte*, and also by a pre-Mycenaean relief on silver from the island of Syros in the Aegean; at the same time hunting and raiding and warrior people found in the horse a rapid means of transport when they used it as a mount. The use of horses spread when the Hyksos, Hittites, Cimmerians, and Scyths used them in their raids; they are domesticated in Babylonia from the twelfth century at latest, and in Assyria at latest from the ninth; but mules were already made use of here during the third millennium.⁶

In other zones and climates there were domestic animals comparable to the horse. Reindeer were used in the western parts of northern Eurasia, at

least from about 900 BC; and the Asiatic elephant was used in India for agriculture, though only later for war. The inhabitants of Africa proved incapable of domesticating the local elephant; the Atlantic sub-species was tamed at a relatively late period by the Carthaginians.

At various periods the domestic camel of Bactria spread through the surrounding areas, while the dromedary had its first home in Africa and Arabia. In the Andes the llama and alpaca were domesticated; in Mexico the guinea pig. Poultry breeding was found everywhere, based sometimes on local species and sometimes on imported breeds; and bees were kept in many areas for both their honey and their wax.⁷

We may now review rapidly countries which progressed fastest. In Egypt dogs were bred for hunting; oxen, both of northern and of southern breed, for meat and other products and as draught animals; sheep, both local and Asiatic were also bred; asses were used as beasts of burden and for threshing. Regular use of the camel was earlier than that of the dromedary; the horse was employed in battle at the time of the Hyksos rule, but only came into normal use as a beast of burden later. The domestic goose was widely known but later became, perhaps, less common.⁸

The Assyrians made marked progress in the domestication of the dog, apparently a type of bull-dog which originated in Tibet. We may note also their domestication of the ox (still more the buffalo), the fat-tailed Asiatic sheep, and the horse. At least from the ninth century they were using camels which spread from there to Asia Minor (Archilochus speaks of them) and to Syria. The Hebrew people showed strong attachment to pastoral life; and they regarded agricultural work as punishment inflicted by a wrathful god.

Use of the horse in warfare was considerably extended by the Persian hegemony; and the Persians used camels as early as in the battle of Sardis in 546. Camels were also widely used throughout arid Arabia, because of their resistance to thirst. Horses in battle are attested for the Lydians and Lycians in the seventh century; but they were already known in the Graeco-Mycenaean world. In Asia horses were used for drawing war chariots, as they were later to be used by the Etruscans; and cavalry must have been used throughout the Celtic and German worlds from early times.

a. *Architecture*

Within the populations who had acquired pastoral habits a part must have lived a relatively sedentary existence; this was probably also true of peoples whose principal means of life lay in gathering fruits, or in hunting or fishing. The gathering might be woman's work; and both that and fishing normally require less movement than hunting. In addition agriculture was beginning; and even in its simplest forms this dictates settlement in one place, at any rate during the seasons of sowing and of harvest. The settlement was relative,

for it lasted only as long as a tribe remained in a particular area. But it now became the rule that a people occupied the same stations and shelters, even though they might leave them for a time and return to them later. For even the existence of genuine nomads implies, from very early times, the use of shelters, and of more or less temporary dwellings built with the materials provided by the country: these were needed as a protection against the elements and against wild beasts and other men.

These shelters and huts were of very varied kinds. In the more civilized countries they gradually became stronger and more complicated: in other areas the more primitive and simple forms survived. Even today, particularly in backward countries, dwellings of a type which has been in use for thousands of years are found side by side with others of more recent type. Less civilized peoples, especially in cold climates, were able to protect themselves against the weather in shelters under rocks, or in natural caves; the favourite type had a narrow entrance, sometimes reinforced with piles of rubble, which made them easy to defend. Yet even peoples of advanced civilization made use of dwellings in caves dug by man, which were both cool and strong. Diversity in dwellings was also brought about by climatic differences. In warm regions and on the steppes primitive man would protect himself from the squalls of wind and rain with improvised screens of branches laced together with bark. In tropical countries he set up walls to make a shed and held them in a sloping position by means of props. Two screens or two sheds joined together were the origin of the simple sloping hut, which was open on two sides.

Various forms of circular huts are known, with their foundations sunk some distance in the ground to afford better resistance to excessive cold or heat. The simplest form consists of logs planted in the soil and joined together at the top, the whole being covered with boughs or leaves or straw. Another type involved securing the logs at both ends, and yet another consisted of tree trunks arranged in a conical formation, sometimes of beehive or of cupola shape, and sometimes with the skeleton of logs covered by branches or clay or stone chippings, like the 'trulli' of modern Puglie in Italy. In sub-polar or high mountain regions the cupola was formed of packed snow. From all these early types were derived the circular stone huts with real or sham vaulted roofs, which are found in countries of more developed civilization.

The simple type of house of all later times had its prototype in the rectangular hut with walls composed of beams laid one on top of another and with a sloping roof made of branches and straw. In later days these huts were made more impervious to moisture by constructing their lower portions of packed clay or unbaked bricks or stone and using wood only for the upper portions near the cornice, and for the roof. Such simple houses could be increased in size at will, and could be divided into different sections for the human inhabitants, for animals, and for storage of commodities.

Lastly, the early tree-top shelters led in wooded areas to hanging houses, and in marshland to pile-dwellings (*palafitte*). In mountain country they gave place to houses of half-pile type, in which the slope of the hill was compensated in order to attain a level floor.

At this stage various kinds of dwelling might be found in the same country. Moreover in many regions it was common to alternate existence between two kinds of house: in the colder months men lived in fairly stable houses built together to form a village, while during their agricultural labours they slept in improvised huts in the open country.

We can now survey broadly the features of the various dwellings used in the more civilized areas, where relatively reliable evidence exists for our period.

In China one commonly finds a reception hall, flanked by two sheds with the living rooms inside them; a peculiar characteristic of the Chou dwelling were the walls of beaten earth covered with wooden planks. In India huts made of wood or unbaked brick were the normal form, and terraces were greatly favoured, as in all civilized countries of the East. In the Early Vedic period houses (*harmya*) were made of wood, with bamboo roofs. Building methods are not made clear by our texts, but it seems that houses rested on four pillars, strengthened by posters butting against them. The wooden walls were finished up with rush-mats and turf. The building of a house was by itself a sacred act, and as such was governed by rules in the handbooks on ritual. There were no temples, only sacred areas with altars in the open air.

In the regions which had been Babylonian and in those where the Assyrians ruled there were grand palaces made of massive unbaked brick, faced in places with rectangular blocks of stone, with clearly separated apartments for men and their guests, for women and children, and for servants. But there were also ordinary houses, which were always built of baked or unbaked brick with a coating of straw. Here too terraces are a characteristic feature; and like Syria and Egypt these regions used windows which helped to keep down excessive heat. In the Persian empire, where both Assyrian and Indian influences were felt, terraces are again found, opening from large rooms with columns. In Egypt there was a marked contrast between the houses of the upper classes, which were large and complex, and the tiny dwellings of the common people, packed together in their appointed quarters: the latter sometimes had upper floors and terraces, but were throughout constructed of unbaked brick coated with straw. The Phoenicians used many-storied houses crowded into small areas on very narrow streets, with terraces and open courtyards.

We now come to the Mediterranean part of Europe. The Minoan palaces had been destroyed⁹ by the Greek invaders and gave place to the palaces of the Mycenaeans: but they too were abandoned when the monarchies fell. The houses of the aristocratic families were divided into rooms, and there were separate halls (*megara*) for men and women, with at least a corridor

between: the houses also opened on to courtyards and terraces, and sometimes there was an upper floor for the slaves. But these houses were surrounded by the simple and modest dwellings of humble people. The latter were still of rounded shape with a conical roof and oval base; they had partitions inside to provide more than one room; and they were normally built of stone, brick and wood. In Italy in the earliest periods of the Iron Age it was common to find round or oval huts, like those discovered on the Palatine and depicted in the shape of early Latian urns: these urns, however, are also often modelled on the rectangular type of hut with sloping roof. In Sicily the native one-roomed houses, round, oval, or rectangular, were often built principally of rubble. But we also find remains there of much larger houses of rectangular shape with at least two rooms, which were probably the homes of the rulers; near by are sometimes groups of huts used by clients.

In the North Etruscan region some lake settlements survived, also some of the *terramare* dwellings on the characteristic pile foundations, with platforms and wooden huts. In the Etruscan area proper the round hut was superseded by the four-sided type with one or more rooms, of which we have examples at Veii, Tarquinia, Vetulonia, Chiusi, and Marzabotto. Reliefs on rock tombs, and the sculpted interiors of certain tombs at Caere, tell us precisely how these houses were constructed and divided into rooms, and how they were decorated and furnished. Other tombs copied the early stages in Etruscan house construction of the classical period, with rooms on the sides opening on a half-covered *atrium* and *impluvium*, and with the main body of the building at the back.

The cave and the hut, then, were normally in ancient times the home (*domus*) of the single family. But when related families gradually grew up side by side, and at least for a time were conscious of a common ancestry, the result was the village (*vicus*), sometimes large and sometimes small, which came into being at various stages in a people's development. Several *vici*, open villages inhabited by people of kindred families, would later acquire a common stronghold (*castellum*), which became the centre of a settled population and of its cults and marketing. This was the origin of the *pagi*, which either developed from pre-existing fortified *vici* or else were built by the inhabitants of an area acting in co-operation. The territory of a *pagus* was therefore the normal unit into which ethnic groups (the *nomina populorum*) were divided. Where, at a later stage, a *pagus* with a fortified citadel extended its political power over the other *pagi*, it was assuming the character of the leader of a league; to keep to the language of the Italic world, it was becoming an imperial *oppidum*.

b. Agriculture

The different activities developed by man produced a corresponding, though varied, increase in the instruments he used to help him. Our brief

treatment of these may be prefaced by remarking how the peoples whose cultural development was slow were conservative in retaining older kinds of object and in their methods of using what they possessed. The advanced peoples developed many new kinds and took them to a higher stage of evolution.

The axe, an instrument for carpentry or stone-cutting, is a good example. Even lately it was unknown to the Tasmanians or pygmies (for example), whereas it was developed rapidly among other peoples. The earliest materials used for making it among hunting races were splintered or polished stone (of a hard variety) or copper or bronze or iron. Its shape became gradually more complicated. It could be flat or have raised edges; it could have a sloping blade or projecting ends; it might have a hole for its handle; and its metal could be plain or carved. Later varieties include the double-edged axe (*bipennis*), the square or circular shaft, the use of perforation, the adze, and so on.

We do not propose to examine the various forms assumed in particular districts and periods by arrows, bows, and spears, which were another invention of the warrior and hunter peoples. We may equally pass over the hooks and harpoons invented by fishermen (the harpoon was, of course, also used for hunting).

We should, however, mention certain later instruments which were less widely used and which imply that animals had been domesticated and were used for carrying and drawing: bits and yokes are examples. Bits were of two basic types, according to whether their bars were taut or supple; and they are often dug up in pairs, which mean that the carts were drawn by two animals. They have been found as far back as the Bronze Age strata of the *palafitte*, and then in the 'Villanovan' settlements of the Early Iron Age. Farther east they appear in excavations of Mycenaean palaces and in similar buildings in Assyrian and Babylonian areas. Double yokes, for horses or for oxen, and for ploughing or drawing carts, were widely used in our period in all the districts where the progress of civilization was rapid; but even in periods near our own they seem to have been unknown in the more peripheral zones, for instance among the Bushmen, or in Siberia, Australia, and certain districts of America.

The domestication of animals, the beginnings of agriculture and cooking, and comparative stability in living conditions, were followed by the manufacture of wooden vessels, and later of vessels in clay. Once again we find that archaic types and processes endured for indefinite periods among the peripheral peoples, whereas the more advanced races continually developed more satisfactory forms. Clay was baked in ovens instead of in the sun; and shape was achieved by using the potter's wheel, attested as early as the Old Kingdom of Egypt, the second stratum of Troy and Middle Minoan palaces (cf. also *Iliad*, XVIII, 600); it is also found in China of the twelfth century B.C. Moreover attention was paid to the purity of clays and to the choice of

colour; and there were advances in decoration, whether painted, in relief, or incised.

Many of the more backward peoples still retained the older implements invented by man for pulling roots and tubers from the ground, namely a straight or pointed stick, or a stick with a hook on the end. In periods near our own some peoples remained faithful to a tool derived from the other instrument known at the dawn of agriculture: this was the hoe, now used chiefly for garden work.

Conditions were very different in the area occupied by the more civilized peoples, in Europe, in Africa, north of Ethiopia and the Sahara, and in Asia outside its north-eastern districts. There the hooked stick and the hoe early gave place to the two basic types of plough, in one of which the stock was horizontal, in the other sloping. Of these the first had its origin in the north-eastern part of Africa, particularly Egypt: the second was brought from western Asia by the so-called 'Painted Vase' peoples. Later the areas into which the two types spread began to overlap; on account of traders, of Greek and Phoenician colonists, and of the Etruscan and Roman empires. Moreover both types spread still farther abroad, and reached northern Europe, the Caucasus and beyond. Still later both types were improved by the addition of wheels to cope with soils which were too heavy or too compact, and, near 900-800, by iron ploughshares, which permitted the working of the fertile heavy soils.¹⁰

Invention of the plough brought many innovations in working the land. A still wider gap was created between higher and backward civilizations, since the larger agricultural output gained from the plough not only encouraged a growth in population but also allowed the formation of reserves over and above the quantities absorbed in local consumption. The reserves were available for export and the promotion of trade, which led to a general increase in wealth and to a higher standard of life.

All this explains the growth of mythical figures and religious ideas which bear the imprint of cereal cultivation, for instance Demeter in Greece or Ceres at Rome, and Isis in Egypt.

Generally speaking the cereals cultivated in different districts were those which grew there in a wild state or those which answered best the tastes of the native peoples. Barley, for example, was grown in Gaul and Spain; the Po valley produced millet and panic, and some was also grown in Gaul and in the Euxine; Etruria grew the husked grain (*far* or *semen adonum*), which was also common in Latium and was therefore used in archaic religious rites, such as *confarreatio*, although naked wheat (*frumentum*) also spread to the area; Thrace and Macedonia grew oats; Greece oats and barley.¹¹ Rice cultivation was limited to eastern Asia, but spread at an early date from China to India.

Ploughing and sowing caused the introduction of a number of primary and subsidiary operations. There was, for example, the system called

'debbio' by the people of modern Liguria, which involved transforming undergrowth into cultivated land for several years by burning it and so turning it into ashes used for manure. The ancients also used 'rotation of crops': land was sown one year with cereals, the next year put under roots, then turned over by the plough and left fallow in the third year for pasture or hay. Our earliest documentary evidence comes from Greece after 400 B.C., but rotation probably was invented during the Early Iron Age.¹²

In some areas, Latium for example, as many as three ploughings preceded sowing; but the earliest process was manuring (believed to be under the supervision of the god Stercutius), the materials being straw from the stables, vegetable stalks from the ground, rotten branches or leaves, and burnt stubble. Later on came harrowing and weeding; and the last operation was the harvest, conducted with scythes. The earliest forms of sickle are still in use among the most primitive peoples today: they are made of wood, or of the jawbones of animals, or of wood pointed with sharpened flint. Other peoples continued to use improved types which had spread abroad in the Bronze Age. The more civilized countries had scythes of sizes and shapes which varied with the uses to which they needed to put them; and in certain areas they were adapted for military purposes, as siege weapons or to fix on war chariots and make them more frightening.

Until they were needed for consumption cereals were preserved in pits dug in the ground. They were then reduced to flour in mills which in the more civilized areas were continually improved. The peripheral countries retained the primitive hand mill consisting of two stones, one fixed and the other revolving, or the straightforward mortar and pestle. More civilized countries used a larger mill, shaped like an hour-glass and sometimes turned by animals.¹³

But farmers were not only concerned with cereals and vegetables. On suitable soil they would plant trees for timber and fruit, growing them in nurseries and then transplanting them. They learned how to graft both on the trunk and also with buds; and an entirely special technique was required to clear the ground for planting vines and olives, to harvest fruit, and to crush olives and press grapes. Wine and oil presses originally consisted of two columns, two cross-bars, and a windlass.

The way in which country operations were conducted in the early centuries of Rome can be seen from Fabius Pictor's list of the no less than twelve 'dei Momentanei', who watched over the various stages in turn.¹⁴

Material life in Vedic and post-Vedic India is known almost solely from literary sources; and they refer only to the Aryan population. In the first Vedic period the main type of existence was cattle-raising; and livestock were consequently the main form of wealth. The most important animals were cattle, and from the end of the Rigvedic period we find signs of the tendency which later made the cow the sacred animal *par excellence*. Nevertheless throughout the Vedic period beef still forms an essential part of the diet

of the Aryan tribes, and is even the chief and irreplaceable dish at royal banquets. Cattle were not wild, but were kept in stables; the cow was milked three times a day. In later Vedic texts knowledge about cattle can be seen to have been more complete and accurate; and there are technical terms for various breeds, for various ages in each sex, and for different physiological conditions. In these texts too the cow has already become so far sacred, that to kill one outside the sacrificial area was punishable by death.

Hunting and fishing were of little consequence: they were pastimes rather than means of securing a livelihood. Agriculture was at first of secondary importance, but it made continuous progress. From their origin the Indo-Iranic peoples knew the wooden plough and metal sickle: in the *Atharvaveda* texts the plough is shown as a characteristically Aryan implement, one not used by the non-Aryan populations.

The Vedic peoples had some knowledge of artificial irrigation: the Vedic texts speak of irrigatory canals (*Kulyā*) and of artificial wells.

The principal crops were cereals, and especially barley (if the word *yava* in its origin bore the sense of barley that it has today). Rice (*vr̥hi*) seems to have been at first unknown; but it rapidly came into use and was already familiar in the *Atharvaveda* period. In the middle of the first millennium BC rice and barley were the normal food of the Aryan populations, so much so that in time they had to be offered on the domestic hearth (*gr̥hya*) every morning and evening. At the end of this period it is generally true to say that agriculture had become more important than cattle-raising. It early took on a religious character, and every act in the farmer's life was invariably accompanied by the performance of a domestic rite.

The population was sedentary: there are no significant traces of nomad life. The fortified cities known to the Indus civilization had disappeared: the Aryans lived in scattered dwellings and in small unwallled villages, surrounded at the most by a thorn hedge for defence.

Irrigation. From the time when man settled more permanently on one piece of ground and tilled it with the hoe, he felt the need to control so far as possible the distribution of water and to render it independent of the weather. For periods of drought he wanted to have stores to distribute to humans and domestic animals, and to irrigate the cultivated ground; on the other hand it was desirable to remove surplus water and so drain the soil and save the crops. At different times and in different places we find various devices, of varying degrees of efficiency. There were wells, captured springs, and aqueducts; major and minor canals, drawn off from rivers and lakes; embankments and dams round valleys and reservoirs; and terracing of the soil, to hold the water and prevent the *humus* from being washed away. For the opposite task, to deal with surplus water, we find drainage in open ditches or in pipes below ground (*cunicoli*), banking, drainage canals, cuttings in hills, and the trapping of rivers. At the same time some people living, as

did the North Etruscans, in lakeland or country subject to floods protected their homes by adopting the system of *palafitte* or *terramare*: these were pile-dwellings, the former on water, the latter houses built on dry land with embankments. The most primitive of these devices were invented when the ground was still tilled with the hoe: they were preserved unchanged into recent times in the peripheral areas like Oceania, America (Mexico and the Andes), and east Africa, where this method of agriculture still went on. The more complicated and improved devices were brought about by people who used the plough. In the Far East of Asia rice cultivation, first in China and later in Indonesia and India too, compelled the invention of methods for irrigating the areas which had been sown.

In China irrigation and the need to control the great rivers led early to the rise of a typically Chinese science, that of hydraulic engineering. It was indeed determined by the hydrographic structure of the central core of ancient China, in which loess can be fertile only if adequately irrigated, and where the Yellow River carries an enormous quantity of sediments and is subject to disastrous floods. The first dykes on the Huang-ho were built by Duke Huan of Ch'i in the first half of the seventh century B.C. Since that period, canals and tanks were dug in various feudal states, both for purposes of irrigation and for military aims (artificial flooding of enemy country). The first great irrigation tank seems to have been the Ssu-ssu-pei or Shao-pei (today An-fêng-t'ang) of about 100 km in circuit, to the south of Shou in northern Anhwei; it was built by Sun Shu-ao, a minister of Duke Chuang of Ch'u, during the nominal reign of the Chou king Ting (606–586 B.C.). However, the great works of hydraulic engineering begin with the following period, mainly because they went beyond the possibilities of small feudal states and required a strong central power.

c. Metallurgy: Iron

Iron had been used sporadically from the thirteenth century at latest in Hittite countries and, more sporadically, in Egypt; and from there it spread to Crete and into the Aegean basin at the end of the Mycenaean Age (which we have seen came later than traditional chronology records). But its use on a large scale for arms, utensils and so on is the characteristic feature of metal-working in the period later than c. 1000 B.C. Yet it did not replace other metals entirely: they continued to be used alongside of iron and indeed the hard iron hammers enabled other metals to be worked into sheets more effectively than before. Large-scale use of iron had been delayed for a number of reasons. It was difficult to recover (cf. the term *polykmētos* in Homer); it required furnaces at fairly high temperature,¹⁵ which had therefore to be provided with elaborate means of ventilation dependent on the bellows; moreover its colour was not very attractive, and it easily oxidized and rusted. In the continents which concern us iron could be found in many districts: India, the Urals, the Crimea and Ukraine, Swedish Lapland, the British Isles,

Lorraine and Luxemburg, Normandy and Brittany, southern Westphalia and the district east of Prague, ancient Noricum and the Styrian Alps, the western Lombardic and the Carnic Alps, the island of Elba and the Apuan mountains, Campiglia and Massa Marittima, La Tolfa and Le Allumiere in Tuscany, La Méta in the Liris valley, Sardinia, and the Bilbao district of Spain. But there is no direct relation between the whereabouts of iron deposit and the dates at which countries started to use the metal: one may remember that America, though so rich in iron, knew nothing of its working before Columbus.

On the other hand it is not unlikely that iron-working was invented on many occasions in different places, and that each time the invention came casually during the fusing of other metals. One such place was probably Pontus in Asia Minor. But from these primary centres the process spread to others, in districts which also turned out to be rich in iron. One example is provided by the Etruscans. In the Po valley they must have learned to work iron through contacts across the Adriatic or the eastern Alps; then when they crossed south of the Apennines and found themselves in lands rich in ferrous metals, they too became famous inventors and workmen. The new methods in Greek lands were kept secret by clubs of initiate artisans, who gave rise to the legends about mythical iron-working races like the Chalybes in Anatolia¹⁶ or the Dactyloi in Phrygia and Crete.

In antiquity an enormous part of the world used no iron, for instance north-east Asia, Indonesia, the whole area of Polynesia and Australasia, South Africa, and the American continent.

There were four stages in the history of all metalworking. First it was hammered (copper), then fused in furnaces ventilated by chimneys, then metals were alloyed together (bronze), and finally molten iron was fused by means of the bellows. These stages were not reached at the same time in all districts: the process went ahead of the average in the earliest civilizations, behind it in the peripheral areas.

To keep up the heat for recovering and working metals, the earliest devices used the fan: this was relatively unsatisfactory, and later on a blowing tube was inserted, the precursor of the bellows. There were various kinds of bellows: leather varieties of different regional types developed into the instrument marked by a single or double bellows. It must be emphasized again that without some system of blowing the extraction and working of metals would have remained most laborious.¹⁷

The most ancient method of securing gold consisted in washing the gold-bearing sand of river-beds. Rudimentary instruments were employed: the water was collected in wooden bowls and conveyed in canals on an incline. This method was still widespread: but in the seventh or sixth century the inhabitants of Thasos must already have been mining gold from the deposits in Mt Pangaeus (see Part II).

Mercury must have been extracted from cinnabar before the end of our

period by the Etruscans (who got their raw material from Mt Amiata) and by the Carthaginians in Spain. The methods later found in use for this purpose were the crushing of cinnabar in vinegar, and heating it in iron vases with pottery lids. A deposit of liquid mercury belonging to the ninth century has been found at Al Mina.

d. *Textiles*

There were various stages in the historical development of spinning, weaving, manufacture of clothes, and dyeing of materials: and once again all these stages are to be found simultaneously in the ancient world, one in the peripheral or barbarian areas, another in the more civilized countries.

Three conditions are needed if weaving is to be possible:

- (1) knowledge how to make matting, baskets, trays, or jars by the simple plaiting of string or wicker, with or without clay plastering;
- (2) invention of methods for twisting together short fibres of textile material into a continuous thread;
- (3) discovery of the earliest forms of loom, so that the warp could be fixed and have the threads of the weft inserted into it.

All these three discoveries were probably made independently in several parts of the world: and all three can be shown by archaeological finds, and also by the existence of common terms in the different Indo-European languages, to go back to very ancient times. The invention of spinning was often attributed to some divine being (Isis, Athena, etc.) or to very early personages such as the Emperor Yao in China or Mama Oello in Peru. Besides wool, which was little used for this purpose in Egypt, the raw material for spinning was commonly flax. Cotton, like hemp, was used in India, but very little in the classical world: the first evidence for it comes from Herodotus. Fragments of woollen cloth have been discovered in the prehistoric tombs of Scandinavia; and pieces of linen have appeared not only in Egypt but in the Swiss pile-dwellings. Herodotus records a famous tunic given as a present by King Amasis and made of linen with gold thread. A kind of silk could be obtained by processing the so-called sea-wool, for which the inhabitants of Cos became famous.

Antiquity kept to two methods of spinning. Either the fibres were twisted by hand on the knee; or a spindle (made of wood, bone, gold, bronze, or ivory) was used to twist fibres held in a distaff. The running operation of the spindle was made more regular by adding one or more wheels, made of bone, stone, clay, ivory or other material. The Egyptians knew two types of primitive loom, the vertical and the horizontal; and the Greeks too must have had these two types, although because of difficulties of perspective their monuments show us only the first. There were very small looms, worked perhaps with the needle, for the manufacture of articles such as handkerchiefs; and very big ones for making curtains and cloaks. Because there were no cylinders

on which to wrap continuous cloths, the ancients still made cloth only to the exact measurements required by the article of manufacture. The threads in the warp were held alternately taut and open for the weaving process by means of weights; but very often the shuttle, or movable regulator, was used to insert the weft. Subsidiary instruments attested by archaeology include needles, carding-combs, and scissors—the last found as early as the Swiss pile-dwellings. Spinning and weaving constituted one of the basic industries inside the household: this is true even when, as already in the *Odyssey*, we have evidence of work-rooms with several female slaves and a woman to supervise them.

Antiquity knew nothing of patterned textiles made in the loom: instead the work was done with the needle, as for modern tapestries, and of such work we have the evidence of tradition extending from Homer to Pliny. In civilized areas, however, there was a varied and colourful output of luxury clothing, of which an example among the Hebrews is given in *Isaiah* iii. 18–23.

For dyeing cloth the usual materials were of organic origin. There were indigo and saffron; purple extracted from a mollusc (the murex), a discovery attributed to the Phoenicians; red derived from an insect (*Coccus ilicis*); yellow from lotus roots; brown from bark and roots of trees; and berries, stalks, and flowers of various other plants. The dyers were clever in their mixtures of juices and infusions; and sometimes they dipped the material several times, for instance in the production of purple.

e. Pottery, Glass, and Enamel

At the beginning of our period the potter's art had already made great progress in the more civilized areas, but in the more backward and primitive countries very ancient and imperfect methods still prevailed. In some areas the art itself was completely unknown, for instance in Australia and in some regions of America (outside the Mexican and Andean districts). Other countries continued to use pots of raw *impasto* modelled by hand: at the best they had not yet attained appreciable results in baking, turning, or decoration. It must be remembered, however, that even in the more civilized countries relatively undeveloped methods of manufacture are found, in the same place and in the same period, beside methods involving a high degree of perfection: in serving humble clients the potter would content himself (or herself, for the potter was perhaps a woman) with cheap materials and with methods which did not occupy much time.

The gradual improvement in ceramic art took account of four factors. The first was chemical composition; use was made of more refined clay with the grease removed. In Greece limestone was added, and in Egypt flinty materials, in order to obtain a surface varnish which was not scratched through having a different coefficient of expansion from that of the clay. In China on the other hand they added feldspar, which does have a different

expansion coefficient, and so obtained cracks in the varnish for artistic purposes. Secondly, the modelling was improved: in early days it was done with a simple disk lying on a pivot turned with the hand, but later a wheel was used to increase the speed and the regularity of the process. Thirdly, firing was done in kilns more suited for the purpose than primitive types had been: there was a fireplace in front and a furnace beneath, and the kiln was regulated to achieve slower burning over a longer period. Fourthly, attention was paid to shape and decoration, which are the features contributing most to artistic differentiation between the various regions and periods and schools of pottery.

In the Greek world the highest levels of technical perfection were attained in the following period (see Part II). But legend had it that the invention of the 'potter's wheel' went back to the mythical Daedalus (Diodorus, IV, 76); and the difficulty of working kilns had attracted enough attention to inspire a short pseudo-Homeric poem entitled 'Kaminos' (the kiln). Already in our period the various local fabrics, especially Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian, were trying to outdo one another in the selection of clays with the best colour, elasticity, appearance, and evenness of composition. They competed for superior elegance of shapes; to obtain uniformity and regularity in firing, without traces of smoke; and to achieve artistic merit in their decoration, carried out on surfaces prepared at the right moment, with better and better varnishes. During the sixth century the typical fabric is Attic, with silhouettes in black figures executed on the red ground of the pot, and completed with incision on the black varnish to bring out features inside the silhouettes. Pottery pieces of the highest quality required work by several artists, some for modelling and others for decoration, as we see by their signatures on the masterpieces in question. This matter will be treated more fully in the chapter on pictorial art (see p. 298).

In Egypt enamel coverings for paste or steatite objects (jewellery, plates, amulets, statuettes, scarabs, and vases) go back to remote antiquity. In our period a type of cloisonné work had been practised for some centuries, with glass pastes in compartments divided by small partitions. But this Egyptian technique was also found in Cyprus, the Aegean areas, and in Asia Minor; and it later spread north to Scythia and west to Etruria, where it was the precursor of the cloisonné of the Middle Ages. In the East enamelled terracottas had been used from ancient times as architectural dressing and for decoration, for instance on the Istar gate at Babylon in Nebuchadnezzar's time; these were inherited by the Persians and used in such buildings as the palace of Darius I at Susa.

In the production of glass, properly so called, three methods may be distinguished. The earliest is the manufacture of coloured glass paste, to some extent identical with the enamelling mentioned above. In Egypt it can be shown to have been already known in the sixteenth century; and its surface was often coated with scaly ornamentation, incised with a *stilus* during

the cooling process while the vitreous material was still viscous. In the Mycenaean world this material probably corresponds with Homer's *Kuanos*, though this is the name given by Theophrastus to a natural material (*lapis lazuli*) as well as to an artificial composition. From Greece the process spread to the northern countries of the Mediterranean; and exquisite objects were made from it, especially in Etruria.

Transparent plate glass, according to Pliny (xxxvi, 65), was invented by chance in Phoenicia when blocks of saltpetre were being burned in contact with sand on the shore. In Lucian's time the Phoenicians were undoubtedly still famous for this transparent glass: there is, however, evidence of it very early in the Egyptian excavations at Tell el Amarna; and already in the eighth century its use is attested for ointment boxes, of which one bears the name of King Sargon. In China it was manufactured already about 550 BC, and some remnants have come to light in old tombs at Lo-yang. Greek writers from Pindar onward call it *hyalos*, and the Latins *vitrum*. The production of it was not normally as perfect as that attained in Phoenicia, not even in Campania where the sands of Volturnum seemed most suitable for it. Campanian output in fact is more greenish in colour, like that from the independent factories in Spain and Gaul.

In our period the third process, which produced blown or moulded glass, was not in being.

f. *Gold and Precious Stones*

The Middle East, including Egypt and the Aegean area, had from the beginning of our period been long accustomed to make great display of gold for decorating furniture, buildings, clothes, and vessels, and also to make ornaments in leaf and inlay for personal adornment, such as bracelets, rings, and amulets. Tradition assigned special skill in this field to the Phoenicians, who according to the Hebrew *Book of Kings* were expert goldsmiths. After the fall of the Mycenaean world and the temporary slackening in relations between the Aegean and the East, the use of worked gold in Greek lands suffered a setback. Later, however, contacts between the Greek colonists of Asia and the Asianic peoples, especially the Lydians, were reinforced; and Ionian trade developed throughout the Mediterranean basin. So the taste for gold work returned, and gold jewellery of oriental type spread from centres at Ephesus and Phocaea, and later also Rhodes. In the Italian peninsula at the same time there was a real profusion of gold work of 'orientalizing' type, which was later promoted by Carthaginian exports and by the Carthaginians themselves in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. This flourishing period of the goldsmith's art was reflected in the Hallstatt civilization of the north-west, and in Scythian culture to the north-east.

'Semi-precious' stones were sought for their rarity, their colours, and also for the magical properties attributed to them. Their use goes fairly far back in Middle Eastern cultures and in the Minoan and Mycenaean world, and

it was further developed in the first half of the first millennium BC. Small stones were worked in relief or incised; and others formed part of ornamental plaques, some of which were placed on buildings. In incision there were famous artificers, such as those of Samos and certain Etruscans.

'Precious' stones, which were valued because of their size or colour and were often pierced to make necklaces, were still sought and treated much as they had been in the previous period, the Middle East being the main area of use. They were normally, however, not cut; the only process was the polishing of their natural surfaces.

The history of amber manufacture underwent a significant modification, which also affected the areas in which different types of amber were used. Originally amber was worked in the areas where it was found and in adjacent districts: the northern countries used the yellow amber of the Baltic and North Sea, and Mediterranean countries the reddish-brown variety found in Syria, Sicily, the extreme south of Italy, and in France. The latter is probably mentioned in the *Odyssey* (XVIII, 293). Later, however, the two types were found in competition in the same districts, such as the Po valley of Italy. The Baltic and North Sea amber was then acknowledged to be superior and was sought after by the inhabitants of Mediterranean countries too. Acquaintance with it must have been due to the Phocaeen sailors, who at one time frequented the northern Adriatic and the western Mediterranean.¹⁸ The first man to describe a voyage to the amber countries of the North was Pytheas of Massilia (about 300 BC), who supplemented the allusions to the amber route in Herodotus and later writers. The district of Italy which showed most taste for large objects made of amber was Picenum.

Coral working is not mentioned by written sources before the Hellenistic age, but archaeological discoveries at Felsina (the modern Bologna), Este, Arne and other places show that it had been used for ornaments several centuries earlier. Discovery of coral may have happened casually.¹⁹ The story was that coral grew hard when exposed to the air; and this started the myth that drops fell into the sea from the Gorgon's blood and there became petrified.

g. Scents and Cosmetics

The discovery and use of perfumes imply a marked advance in the standard of human comfort. Pliny tells us that their cradle lay in the East, and this is a reasonable view. The East was the region where the appropriate ingredients, both vegetable and mineral, were most abundant; its peoples were fond of luxury; and Egyptian methods of embalming were probably a further factor in promoting production. Perfumes were often used for incense in propitiatory ceremonies. But their usage spread because anointment was considered healthy and because, in the absence of soap, scent baths and massage were the main way of caring for the human body.

Together with scents and ointments, cosmetics and paints were used to

animate the face, heighten its shades, and conceal defects in the skin. Dyes were also used to give artificial colour to the hair. In all these departments the Egyptians were expert from ancient times. The Hebrews, who had guilds of scent-makers, obtained their scents from southern Arabia and had what may be called a hymn to scent in the 'Song of Songs'. The Persians, too, liked to anoint themselves with bistre and belladonna, as we know from the famous incident between the young Cyrus and his grandfather Astyages. The Phoenicians were great traders in scents and similar commodities, and the Etruscans were great consumers. In Greece and Magna Graecia there were workmen who specialized in scent manufacture.

2. TRADE

a. *Routes of Communication*

In our period and in the two which followed most land communications were primitive and hardly better than footpaths. In flat country they were very numerous, and also shifting; in the mountains there would be a single fixed route dictated by the essential points of transit. All such routes allowed travel by pedestrians and by people carrying baggage. But in more populous and civilized districts, when carriage came to be done by pack animals, mule tracks were constructed; and although their surfaces were not laid by hand, passage along them was made easier when transport by carts became more common.

In India transportation was chiefly by pack animals and by cart. In the Late Vedic period the goods cart (*anas*) drawn mostly by oxen was carefully distinguished from the war or race chariot (*ratha*) drawn by horses. Horses served equally for driving and for riding. Elephants, then as later, were employed almost only for war and ceremonies. Camels seem to have been in use, but it is doubtful whether the word *uṣṭra* in Vedic texts means camel or buffalo.

The cart was typical of the ancient world, though unknown in America before Columbus. Its invention was made possible with the invention of the wheel; and the solid wheel which carried its axle round with it later gave place to the spoked wheel, of a variety of shapes, which rotated round an axle.²⁰ Carts, or chariots, had many functions, in war, in agriculture, and for commercial transport. They came to be divided into two main types; the light two-wheeled chariot drawn by horses, used in war and racing; and the heavier carriage drawn by oxen for journeys and for transport of goods. The various forms which were current in different countries and periods need not be dealt with here (see Part II).

The use of carriages gradually brought about the construction of carriage roads on a more level surface. At the outset these were ill-defined and had a number of separate carriage tracks alongside one another. Later firm roads

were built, respecting the property of the agricultural owners along their route, and taking advantage, at difficult points, of artificial methods such as cuttings, fords, and levelling operations. In marshy country dykes were also constructed; and every use was made of existing carriage tracks, which made running easier especially in rocky districts.

Permanent paving of roads was used originally only in certain sections, and then only in highly civilized countries such as certain parts of Mesopotamia and one or two Minoan centres. Generally paving was confined to the interior of towns, but town streets, too, underwent complicated modifications. Particular centres such as those inhabited by pile-dwellers, where streets intersected at right angles from the very beginning, were obviously exceptional. Elsewhere streets formed an irregular network, chiefly dictated by the varied nature of the ground in different towns and also by the tendency to pack the houses inside definite areas such as the acropolis or *agorā*. Urban streets of this kind were only paved in exceptional circumstances. Herodotus tells us of paving in Mesopotamia (I, 180); and we know of it from excavations both at Nimrūd and at Minoan and Mycenaean cities in the Aegean, such as Troy, Knossos, and Gournia.

The Persians, if not the later Assyrians, were first to create a permanent system of roads and to provide regular maintenance for their track routes. They constructed artificial works, such as bridges, embankments, and cuttings; and they erected stations at convenient stages for the service of the post, in which lodging and refreshment were also provided for travellers. Herodotus and Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia* tell us about these Persian roads, with particular reference to the so-called 'Royal Road' from Sardes to Susa, which had 111 stations and was 450 parasangs long ('sang' means stone, and must have meant the 'bornes' indicating the stage reached in the journey, measured in time rather than distance).

The Greek world, however, suffered what was almost a setback in comparison with the Minoan period. It continued with the ancient footpaths and with carriage roads on natural soil; moreover streets inside cities were narrow and irregular, without any use of pavements. The Etruscans, too, when they passed south of the Apennines and were living in hill country very different from the plain of the Po, had to give up the regular systems of rectangular street intersections which they had employed in the *palafitte* and *terramare*.²¹ For the most part they went in for networks of narrow and irregular city streets adapted to the contours of the ground: of these we can see an example at Vetulonia, though there the principal street is flanked by a footpath running above the sewer. But at the end of the sixth century the Etruscans reconquered part of the Po valley; and when they came to construct the city which has now been excavated at Marzabotto in Emilia they appear to have been influenced by their older *terramare* models. They therefore built a central street 15 metres wide with lesser streets intersecting it at right angles. In the middle this central street has a 5-metre strip for

vehicles: and the two 5-metre strips on each side have stone surfaces for pedestrians.

Both before and during the Etruscan domination the urban centre of Rome must have had an irregular system of streets. But the city acquired commercial importance through lying on the road leading from Etruria to Campania, and through her early domination of Latium. She cannot have been slow in attending to the upkeep of communications outside the city along the roads of varying size which radiated traffic towards Ardea, Gabii, Praeneste, Labicum, Collatia and other places.

b. Navigation and Ships

Navigation in the less progressive and peripheral areas was doubtless still carried on by the primitive methods which the ethnologist can show us operating in 'barbarian' countries in times very near to our own. Moreover there were still certainly some seaboard peoples who were ignorant of the art of sailing, either because the waters round them were too difficult for navigation, or because they had no ship-building materials, or because they had no need for trade and other communications with the outside world.

One of the most ancient methods of river transport was to float leather bags and round vessels made of skins, which were carried with their cargoes by the stream: Herodotus (I, 194) describes this practice on the Tigris and Euphrates. (Pl. I, a.) Another possibility was to float flat or rounded tree trunks, or several trunks tied together into rafts.

A further stage was reached by the peoples who built coracles, either of a single piece of curved bark or of several pieces linked together, or even of the hollowed-out trunk of a tree. These vessels were sometimes weighted to achieve stability: alternatively two trunks could be placed alongside one another.

To hold the wind many shapes of sail were used, and many means of suspending and holding them. A type which became permanent in China was the square ribbed sail, designed to stop undue billowing from a wind blowing down on the vessel.

The type of craft used in the more civilized countries was normally of more advanced technique. Yet regional features are noticeable, resulting partly from the materials available in each country but often from gradual evolution. In Egypt navigation of the Nile was carried on with two basic kinds of craft. One was the low-hulled barque of crescent shape, built of strips of papyrus stalk joined together. The other was a heavier craft of short planks from trees of the country, fastened by nails; but these craft too were of shallow draught designed to avoid mud banks. The sails were square and the oars free; large rudder oars were used in the stern: and sometimes there was a cabin. But sea-going ships, used in war, were more robust and straighter; their oars had rowlocks, and their rudders were fixed. Like the

state vessels, which were decorated throughout, these warships were built of tall trunks from Lebanon.

The Assyrians and Babylonians used for river navigation the old type of rounded barque of which we have been speaking. For sea navigation in the eastern Mediterranean, their agents were the Phoenicians, whose powerful trading vessels, the short, stout *gauloi*, were built of timber from the tall conifers of Lebanon: they had keels and ribs and raised decks. Assyrian and Karatepe reliefs of these ships are very instructive. (Pl. 1, b.)

The Hellenes of the Aegean basin, and the Greek colonists abroad wherever they took themselves, used two types of ship, the man-of-war and the merchant vessel. For both types there is some evidence in the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. In Hellenic time the merchant vessel was fairly broad in the beam, more rounded than the warship, with raised decks; it carried a single sail, had wheels fore and aft and a mast fixed into the keel; the steering gear consisted of a large oar projecting each side of the stern; and from the sixth century onwards an anchor was carried. Ships were generally caulked black with pitch, and the hulls were sometimes painted with vermilion. The warship was lighter, and the prow of the long keel ended in a bronze ram; there was a quarterdeck and forecastle, benches for the rowers, and a bridge above them from which the marines could fight. A type which became standardized early was the *dieres*, or ship with two banks of rowers, normally fifty rowers in all (*penteconters*). Later, near 650 B.C.,²² the *trireme* was invented to increase speed and the power behind a charge. This was a ship with three banks of seventy rowers arranged in various ways; including the fighting men it carried a crew of 200 in all. Between 110 and 120 feet long and little more than about 17 feet broad, *triremes* were light and consequently required plenty of ballast. Being fragile and easily damaged, they were mainly used during day-time in a calm sea and for actions near inshore.

Warships were seldom at sea for long, and the distance they covered was about 50 miles a day. They would go from port to port to collect food and water: and the ships would be hauled on land or drawn into harbour in case of heavy seas or storms. Merchantmen could trust to the winds, and were therefore less dependent on short cruises along the coasts. But steering by the stars was only possible part of the year, so navigation had to be suspended during the winter months. But the proud deeds of these daring sailors are attested not only by legends, such as those of the Argonauts or Odysseus, but by the colonial ventures in so much of the Mediterranean from the tenth century onwards: the Phocaeen colonizers and merchants reached the northern Adriatic and the coasts of Spain and Tunisia. No less impressive enterprises were achieved by other peoples, for instance the circumnavigation of Africa by certain daring Phoenicians on orders from Pharaoh Necho (c. 600).²³ *Periploi* or works written to aid navigation, like the Italian 'portolani' of the Middle Ages, must have begun to appear in relatively early times:

they indicated the whereabouts of harbours and the time needed to go from one to another. The average speed of navigation in a fair sea was between 4 and 6 knots.

c. *The Growth of Trade*

One may assume that the less civilized parts of the ancient world acquired goods from abroad in one of the ways illustrated by the evolution of commerce in primitive countries in modern times. The stages in this evolution were roughly as follows: (1) entire isolation of one group of human beings from others; (2) plunder at the expense of one's neighbours; (3) gifts of friendship exchanged between host and guest, in measure unrelated to the concrete value of the goods, a stage familiar (for example) in the Homeric poems; (4) silent barter of the kind described by Herodotus (IV, 196) in speaking of the Carthaginians and the Libyan tribes of the extreme west; (5) voluntary barter, not dependent on a treaty; (6) barter conducted according to treaty; (7) payment for merchandise with valuable objects measured by their weight.

On periods for which we get no help from written tradition and have to depend solely on the evidence of archaeology our information is incomplete. It takes account only of non-perishable objects, such as stone, wood, bone, metal, amber, glass, and pottery, whereas things such as agricultural produce, livestock, skins, cloth, scents, and slaves have disappeared. Yet the Latin word *pecunia* reminds us that livestock were often the main constituent of trade.²⁴ For the earlier periods we can only state which were the normal exporting and importing countries for objects which have survived: we cannot be sure what was given in exchange. For example yellow amber came from the west coast of the Baltic, tin from Spain and Britain, gold from Nubia and Asia Minor, Thrace, Transylvania; silver from Iran, Asia Minor, the Balkan countries, Greece, Spain, and the Alps, copper from Spain and Cyprus. Trade of this kind often came by river or by land and depended on various points at the intersection of main routes which acted as depots, like the Balkan peninsula and the Po valley. Both routes and depots, however, were changed as time went on, particularly when widespread use of iron became common and when new mines of gold, silver, copper and other metals began to be worked.

After the introduction of iron, the pattern of trade was influenced by Phoenician colonization on the south coast of the Mediterranean and by Greek colonization on the northern coasts, down to the time when the two peoples came into conflict in Spain and Sicily.²⁵ In fact most of the accepted channels of trade passed through one of these two peoples.

A survey of trade by regions may start from India. As a profession, commerce had a very early origin there and is already mentioned in the hymns of the *Rigveda*. Later the trader (*vaniḥ*) found his social place in the *vaiśya* caste. The profession was often hereditary and was both widespread and respected. A whole hymn of the *Atharvaveā* is dedicated to obtaining

commercial success through cleverness in haggling. Trade was essentially by land routes; the sea is mentioned late in the texts and for a long time played little if any role.

In Egypt trade was largely a monopoly of the Pharaoh. By river or caravan the principal imports were gold from Nubia, silver from the Middle East, perfumes and precious stones from south Arabia, ivory from Libya and the Sudan, skins, ebony and scents from tropical Africa, and copper from Sinai. By sea came timber from Lebanon, and miscellaneous products and manufactures from the Aegean islands and Libya. In exchange Egypt's main exports were manufactured linen goods and cereals, glass, and papyrus.

Palestine and Syria lay along the trade route between the Mediterranean countries, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Anatolia. From this transit trade they made handsome profits, and they were also able to enlarge its orbit by bringing in the western Mediterranean area. They contributed little of their own, apart from manufactures copied from eastern wares, together with amulets, toys, clothing, timber, oil, and honey. Yet another profitable form of trade was that in slaves: the Phoenicians were sometimes very clever in making their captures, as the *Odyssey* tells when recounting the way Eumaeus was seized.

Mesopotamia imported gold from south Arabia and Nubia, silver from the Taurus mountains, copper from Cyprus, Crete, and even the region round Lake Van, spices from Arabia, timber from Lebanon and the region round Lake Van (the region called 'Urartu'), and ivory from Africa and India. Exports provided in exchange were agricultural products, wool, oil; and manufactured goods, especially metalwork and ivories.

Greek trade acquired its greatest development from colonization, which gave the Greeks the means to provide the mother cities and the colonies themselves with foodstuffs and raw materials from all the countries which were now opened up. These included the Black Sea and Sea of Marmora, Thrace, Asia Minor, the Aegean, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Magna Graecia and Sicily, the Adriatic, Tunisia, and the northern Mediterranean from the Gulf of Genoa to eastern Spain.

In return all these countries and their hinterlands were markets for the manufactured goods which the Greeks wanted to export against these imports. Sometimes, however, their trade was based on more complicated arrangements, known as early as Homer and described in the *Odyssey*, under which traders bought up the surpluses of a number of countries and sold or exchanged them elsewhere: their voyages might be of very long duration. In the artistic field this form of economy had the effect of spreading abroad not only typically Greek designs and conceptions but also those originating in the various countries from which articles of trade were derived. For example, the so-called 'orientalizing' art of central Italy is copied from a mixture of models drawn from widely different areas, such as Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, Cyprus, and Crete. This was because the Phocaeans traded with

both the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic coast; and they brought their Italian clients products acquired in all the countries they had frequented in their complicated voyages. One must remember that the eastern Mediterranean markets, such as Al Mina, were receiving wares from very distant countries by sea as well as land: the Arabians helped to carry cargoes. The Greek cities, which rapidly grew out of their primitive economy based on agriculture, were most favourably suited for producing manufactures for export. They included the Ionian colonies such as Miletus, Ephesus, Chios, and Phocaea, and the Dorian colonies such as Rhodes; in the Greek homeland there were Chalcis, Aegina, Megara, Corinth, and later Athens; overseas Byzantium; and in the West Syracuse, Tarentum, Cumae, and Massilia.²⁶

A later step of decisive significance in developing trade was the invention of coinage in precious metal with value guaranteed by the various states: this is dealt with later.

The basis of Etruscan trade lay in the surplus of metals mined in the Tuscan mountains and on Elba; in the early growth of navies in the cities near the Tyrrhenian seaboard; and in the extension of their sea-borne traffic to take in Campania and the Po valley at the time of their imperialist expansion in the seventh and sixth centuries. The Etruscan pirates and traders, who in the eighth century were already controlling the sea as far as the Straits of Messina, now enlarged the area of their exports and therefore of their imports too. In particular they acquired, from places as far as Spain, the metals needed for bronze manufacture in alloy with what they themselves produced: and in the seventh and sixth centuries they divided control of the Tyrrhenian Sea with Carthage and Massilia, who usually were at war with one another.

Carthage indeed, after the dismemberment of Tyre's colonial empire in the West and her own succession to the position of mother city, became in the sixth century the greatest commercial power in the western Mediterranean and maintained her strength for centuries to come. She organized her sister colonies as if they were her own, and planted a series of Punic outposts in north-west Africa and southern Spain. In the following generations the Carthaginians sent out daring explorers of their own to secure useful produce, as far afield as the North Sea under Himilco and the west African coast under Hanno. These ventures had their zenith in the period covered by Part II. In general the goods most important to Carthage were gold, oil (before olives were planted in Africa), pottery, and bronze; and her traders offered the precious metals of Spain and more distant countries, together with slaves and other commodities. She also conducted transit trade in central African goods, such as gold, skins, and ivory, which reached the Punic colonies by means of caravan. The commercial class at Carthage was so powerful that it often acquired control of the city's political affairs.

One of the greatest obstacles to the peaceful development of sea-borne commerce, though in some periods more than in others, was piracy, just as

brigandage and raiding impeded trade by land. Ancient peoples treated every race other than their own as an enemy, unless the people in question was linked to them by special ties. They therefore regarded piracy and raiding as normal activities, which could even bring honour on their authors in proportion to the boldness they had shown and the success they had achieved. This applied not only to piratical enterprises by small groups of daring men but to mass expeditions like those of the 'Peoples of the Sea' on Egypt, the Cimmerian raiders of Anatolia, the Etruscans in the seas round Sicily, or the Greek colonists themselves—for they too took lands by force and reduced the natives to serfdom. In the *Iliad* Achilles and Odysseus boast of having laid waste and sacked twenty-three cities of the Troad; the *Odyssey* describes expeditions, half-piratical and half-commercial, by Menelaus and Odysseus in the East and by the Phoenicians in the island of Ortygia; Assyrian documents tell us of isolated attacks made by Greek pirates on the Syrian coasts in the eighth and seventh centuries. In Greek epic it came naturally to people to ask whether those they met were pirates or not. Tradition and an inscription speak of the savage acts of piracy by the great lord of Samos, Polycrates, and by his older relatives; and in Solonian Athens it was normal to form clubs for 'piracy' as well as for ordinary commerce.

This state of affairs was still fully operative in the fifth century and was well known to Thucydides, who analyses it (I, 4) with great precision and insight. It was responsible for the fact that so many maritime cities had their centre of habitation some way inland, on a hill which provided better defence. Moreover from the seventh or sixth century onward efforts were made to build navies consisting of light but powerful ships, which could be used exceptionally for war, but which were normally intended to keep down piracy and protect merchant shipping. It seems that Corinth gave the lead in this. As always happens in war, however, piratical action continued to be one of the main ways of engaging and doing harm to the enemy: his fields were ravaged, his houses burnt, and his people reduced to slavery.

d. *Trading Posts and Markets. Commercial Treaties*

In the history of foreign trade special interest attaches to the permission sometimes granted to a number of states to set up warehouses for trading purposes in appropriate quarters of foreign territory. This arrangement was in force in the seventh century at Naucratis in Egypt, and at Al Mina. It was also found in certain cities of western Sicily, such as Motya. In Etruscan areas there were Greek stations on the beaches of Caere, and at Alsium and Pyrgi, and a Carthaginian station at Punicum.

All through the ancient world one of the basic functions of a city was to act as a market town for all the territory or state around it. In Greece from the earliest days after the Mycenaean age every city had a large square or *agorā* which served as a meeting place for the people. In this, besides the public buildings and a number of temples, there were built permanent

shops; and above all there would be stalls for the retailers, whose transactions were supervised by the *agorānomoi*, with *metronomoi* to check the weights. Normally each commodity had its own section. At some central point were the bankers (*trapezitai*); and all around, in allotted areas, there assembled the countrymen from each district to conduct their business. Aristotle tells us that at Athens, as later at such places as Priene, the food market and the market for manufactured goods were kept distinct.²⁷

The Greek concept of the *agorā* had its Italian counterpart in the *fora* or *comitiā*, which had existed in the pile cities of the North Etruscans. But at Rome there were a number of stages in their development. In the earliest period the 'forum' was the place where travelling traders put up for the night, fed and watered their horses, and then sold their wares. In later times permanent markets for each type of produce began to make their appearance outside the central area: the *fora* called *boarium*, *olitorium*, *piscarium*, *suarium*, *vinarium*, *cuppedinis* (i.e. for beef, vegetables, fish, pork, wine, and pottery). The name *macellum* came into common use for food markets, where the principal items on sale were meat and sliced fish.

In the country centres outside Rome temporary markets were arranged at stated periods, normally every eight days (*nundinae*).

When one people, e.g. the Carthaginians, became overlord of another, it was able to keep trade exclusively in its own hands and control its extent. In principle independent states looked on one another as enemies. But in so far as free commerce between them implied a condition of peace and friendship it needed to be regulated by conventions, concessions, and prohibitions. Bilateral treaties of this kind might contain positive clauses allowing trade, and also negative clauses defining areas of monopoly and other restrictive elements. Later on we find precise rules about customs, excise tolls, and immunities. Customs benefited the state and excise duties the individual city. The two are clearly distinguishable in large states with a number of urban communities, but they are of course identical in Greek and other city states.

e. *Precious Metals as a Medium of Trade*

Barter implies that the two parties have a reciprocal need for merchandise, the value of which was determined by the extent of their demand. Eventually, however, metal became a third commodity of determinate value within each transaction. It was the easiest commodity to sell, being accepted by everyone; it was divisible with precision into any fractions one wished; it could be conserved without difficulty and was of limited weight. Here too many systems gradually evolved, more or less independently of one another. But one of the first stages consisted in fixing the weight and quantity of metal required for the purchase of a commodity, whether in gold, electrum, silver, or bronze.

This process started early in India, but was slow in progressing. Already the hymns of the *Rigveda* recognize some units of exchange. One of them is the cow. Another seems to have been a gold chain called *niṣka*. Later Vedic texts mention lenders (*kusīdin*) and loans, but no coins proper came as yet into use; the nearest approach to it was the quasi-monetary employ by merchants of the *śatamāna*, a piece of gold weighing 100 *māna* or *kṛṣṇāla*.

Written evidence like the Homeric poems agree with archaeology in showing that merchandise was often exchanged against metal instruments, which were either of given weight or weighed at the time of sale. The instruments in question included axes, anchors, cauldrons, tripods, and spits. Sheets of bronze, or lumps of iron (Sparta) were used for the same purpose; and other peoples employed gold and silver manufactured articles, or gold leaf of any weight which was desired.

Finally a genuine system of coinage was attained. This meant metal disks of a defined weight, content, and value, guaranteed by the particular state which struck them. (Pl. 2.) Inevitably the supply of metals used for coinage, and the difficulties of acquiring them, led to fluctuation in the relative value of coins made of different metals.

The Anatolian world, Lydia in particular, where gold was plentiful, started in the sixth century with gold coins, which provided a standard for the evaluation of coins in other metals. The same was true of the Greek colonies on the Asiatic coast from at least the beginning of the sixth century. Electrum also, an alloy of gold and silver, was frequently used for coinage; but the alloy, whether natural or artificial, varied within so wide limits that the value of the coins was too uncertain, and its use was early abandoned. At this period in Asia Minor the ratio of gold to silver was normally 1:20.²⁸

In the Greek homeland a silver standard was preferred; and the bronze coins used for smaller denominations had values fixed in terms of silver. One guarantee of the purity of metal in the coinage and of the accuracy of its weight was the competition between trade rivals in its production. Nonetheless in this early period we are told of the serious fraud in this field perpetrated by Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who paid the Spartans in counterfeit coins made of gilded lead.

The Greeks devised a number of systems, some similar to one another, some different, for calculating the weights of multiples and fractions of their basic coin. There was first the Aeginetan system with a silver 'stater' of two drachmae which weighed between 12.21 and 13.41 gm.: the drachma was divided into six obols, and 70 or 73 drachmae made up a mina.²⁹ This was the system used at Athens before Solon.³⁰ Secondly, there was the Euboic system, which Athens used after Solon. This had a stater weighing from 8.25 to 8.74 gm., and the mina consisted of 100 drachmae. Thirdly, there was the Corinthian system: this differed from the Euboic in that the mina consisted of 150 drachmae, and the stater weighed three drachmae instead of two.

The first extant Greek coins probably go back to the first half of the sixth century B.C. Yet Aristotle's generation of Greeks still thought of coined money as a genuine article of exchange whose value had to be equivalent to that of the goods it bought. Only in later periods (fourth century) shall we find some development of the conception of forced currency and fiduciary money.

In other countries, including Italy, precious metals were in short supply. Instead of them bronze either in large sheets or in disks was the main basis of coinage, and only in the third century was silver struck. Rome is an example of this line of development.

f. Artisans and Light Industry

In different places and periods, and at different levels of civilization, we find various stages in the history of industry, which is a response to man's demand for the adaptation and transformation of natural products.

In some peripheral areas, and in the earliest periods of other countries, domestic industry continued to be the regular system. All that was needed for the unit of population was produced in a ruler's court, or in the buildings adjoining a temple, or in the house of a single family—if necessary with the help of slaves directed by an overseer, as we see in the *Iliad*. One unit, however, would sometimes exchange its manufactures with another unit, and so meet the needs of its various dependent parts. Ancient tradition records a marked development of this phase in Egypt, where temple organizations tended to monopolize such commodities as textiles and papyrus, and overcome all competitors in the production of these articles.

The second phase was production by artisans, which acquired a firm position in the Greek world from early times. It was based on groups of specialist workmen who were, in principle, part of the system of household economy. With the help of a few free workmen or slaves the craftsman would work to complete his orders either in his own factory or in the homes of his customers: sometimes the materials were supplied by the customers, sometimes he used his own. At this stage specialization was attained through a long apprenticeship. Moreover the secrets of a trade, and the magic formulae considered necessary for its profitable exercise, were handed down by master craftsmen from father to son. The extent to which a particular group of artisans became famous would depend on where it worked, on the availability of raw materials, on the length of tradition behind it, and on the nature of its customers: but some of them undoubtedly exported products over wide areas. Yet they manufactured only enough to meet their orders and were therefore not liable to crises caused by overproduction. They were more likely to be hit by underproduction, mainly the result of war which interfered with the supply of materials or the delivery of the goods once they had been made. In the Greek world of the seventh and sixth centuries the products of certain workshops were famous. The cities mainly concerned were Miletus

and Phocaea, Chios and Samos, Crete and Rhodes, Corinth and Aegina, Athens and Chalcis, Syracuse and Massilia.

The third stage, which we may call the stage of light or medium industry, developed in the Greek world early in the ensuing period (see Part II). Its features are a larger number of workmen, increased specialization and improvement in technique, and heavier investment of capital. This was industry in the fullest sense, and the factors promoting it came into being naturally. The use of money as a medium of exchange offered greater possibilities for capital investment; slave labour often reduced production costs;³¹ the wider export markets resulting from the spread of colonization put up the demand for manufactured goods; and there was generally a more intense concentration on trading prospects. But the artisan character of the production process was maintained throughout and even a slave could often have an existence very similar to that of the free workman, paying a rent to his patron and living with his family, on the proceeds of his work.

As far as we can tell the story was much the same in the Etruscan and Carthaginian worlds; and at Rome one feature of artisan labour from the Regal period onwards was the organization of corporative bodies called 'collegia'. Plutarch (*Numa*, 17) states that in Regal Rome several regular colleges of artisans had been formed and recognized by the state: they were probably modelled on the priestly colleges. The trades mentioned are carpenters, potters, leather-workers, shoemakers, dyers, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, and flute players. In other respects the economy of the self-sufficient household probably still continued.

Artisans in ancient India are incidentally mentioned in the Vedic hymns, but their organization is not clearly established by the relevant texts. Clearly, however, no social stigma attached in the *Rigveda* period to what were later to be regarded as unclean trades, for example tanning.

g. The Extension of Markets

When handicrafts and light industry developed in areas well provided with raw materials, or alternatively with merchant navies for the import of such materials and the re-export of manufactured goods, important consequences might follow. A number of Phoenician, Greek, Etruscan, and Carthaginian cities either erected trading stations for the sale of their wares, or stimulated their colonies, founded it may be for purely agricultural purposes, to take on the appropriate form of commercial activity. The result was that colonies often felt themselves bound to their mother countries by the complementary nature of their economies, in industry and commerce, even more than by ties of blood and affection. At the same time produce from the mother countries, together with manufactured goods from the colonies themselves, made its way to the surrounding native populations: this led to borrowings by one local culture from another, and often caused a region to acquire the cultural stamp of hybrid origin which is normally called a *koiné*. Siculans and Greeks

mixed in this way in Sicily, Italians, Greeks and Etruscans in central Italy, Greeks and Celts in Provence, Iberians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Celts in Spain. In north-west Africa there was a union between Carthaginians, Greeks, and Numidians, and in Cyrenaica between Greeks and Libyans.

In some cases links of this kind were always confined to the economic and cultural spheres, that is mainly to commerce and religion. This was the normal relationship between mother cities in Greece and their western colonies, but there was sometimes more. The Greek cities of Athens, Syracuse, and Massilia, for example, and the Punic city of Carthage, used their periods of hegemony to unite their colonies within the framework of relatively permanent political organisms. The influence thus exerted was a further factor in extending and intensifying the fields of common culture and in promoting trade.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

In primitive stages of civilization all natural phenomena are normally explained in childish and fantastic ways. Their origins are ascribed to magical or miraculous actions; and they become the subject of myths, often described in poetry. But as observation becomes keener and experience more mature, the making of myth gives way to reason. The Greek *logos* which took the place of *mythos* is equivalent to empirical science; and the gradual passage from the fantastic and poetical to the rational and concrete leads gradually to what we call Natural Science, knowledge of which was growing all the time.

But after establishing the existence of particulars men turned from them to universal concepts, to what Plato called 'ideas'. Here they went back on their tracks, and introduced a metaphysical element into their empirical knowledge. This was what happened in our period among the Greeks, who were the keenest observers of the material world and also the most acute and tireless of theoretical thinkers.

a. *Geography*

In examining the history of the different ideas of science we will start with Geography, which reached its highest results among the Greeks. In the early centuries of the first millennium BC the Greeks still had exact knowledge only of the eastern Mediterranean lands nearest their own homes. We can see this clearly in the Second Book of the *Iliad*, by comparing the much more precise catalogue of the Greek allies with that of the more distant allies of the Trojans. In their trading enterprises they might have visited more distant countries, at any rate those along the coasts; but they still tended to view them under a veil of legend and miracles, and a veil even thicker and more impenetrable covered those distant lands from which news

came to them at second-hand and in scarcely recognizable form. This explains such beliefs as that the flat circle of the Earth was surrounded by the stream of Oceanus, the parent of the great rivers which flowed into the 'Middle Sea', and that on the shores of Oceanus lived the least known and most fabulous peoples of the world.

As commercial and colonial enterprise, aided by genuine exploration, widened Greek knowledge of the world and made it more exact, it naturally followed that the radius of the Earth's circle became gradually longer and the circumference formed by Oceanus was pushed farther away from the centre.

Of exploration proper before about 500 BC we have few examples, whether by Greeks or by Carthaginians. Among Greeks may be mentioned Colaeus of Samos, whom Herodotus records as visiting the deserted trading posts in Spain; and there was Scylax of Caryanda, whom the Persian king Darius (521-485) sent to explore the southern coasts of Asia. Among Carthaginians we must notice Hanno and Himilco, who both lived at the time of Carthage's greatest development (c. 550-480):³² the former explored the Atlantic coast of Africa and the latter some northern shores of Europe. Both these wrote treatises, which were later translated into Greek. Of Hanno's we have actual fragments, and Himilco's is known through the adaptations of it in Avienus' *Ora Maritima*.

This greater knowledge of the world provided material for the conclusions of Anaximander of Miletus in the second half of the sixth century and of Hecataeus of the same city a few decades later. Anaximander tried to construct a map of the Earth's circle, surrounded by Oceanus and divided into two halves by the 'Middle Sea'. Hecataeus drew up a *pinax* or new type of geographical chart, and illustrated it with a descriptive work (*gēs periodos*) on peoples and their countries. Herodotus (V, 49) tells us that Aristagoras, tyrant of this city of Miletus about 500, possessed a bronze tablet on which lands and seas were depicted.

But following closely on Anaximander another great scholar, Pythagoras of Samos, had reached the concept of the Earth as a sphere. His belief was taken up by his pupils and later by others, and the reasons for it were expounded not only by the Pythagorean school but by Parmenides of Elea.

b. *Astronomy*

Not only in older periods but even among the higher civilizations astronomy—which studies celestial bodies to learn their fixed natural laws and also the nature of the stars—has been often closely linked and confused with astrology—which attempts to study the influence which the stars through their movement and changing positions exert on our world on Earth, and more particularly on states and individual men. Astrology thus tries to explain the past and foretell the future.

The progress of astronomy led to continued developments in astrology,

which thus became perhaps the chief method of using natural phenomena for purposes of divination. As is well known, the ancient world used many other methods too. Signs given by the weather, such as clouds, hurricanes, and thunderbolts, were studied, so too were the movements of animals, especially the flight of birds, the characteristics of human hands (chiromancy), the rustling of leaves (as at Dodona), monstrous births, dreams (oneiromancy) and many other things. To them must be added the indications obtained by human action, such as casting lots, mixing liquids, and kindling fire to watch the shape of the flame or smoke. They also paid attention to necromancy, to divine judgements, and to the appearance of the entrails of animals in sacrifice.

From the earliest times astronomy was of exceptional importance in China, since it grew out of a religion of a 'cosmic' type and was always regarded as an official science, whose care was a well-defined state duty. The Department of Astronomy in the imperial palace was always one of the essential organs in the central government of China. It is described as such in the *Chou-li*, a compilation of the second century BC which seems to reflect the principles of the Chou state after they had become rigid and had been reduced to a system by later theorists.

According to the *Shu-ching*, the mythical emperor Yao gave official standing to the astronomers Hsi and Ho. The portion of the text containing this brief passage may go back to the eighth or seventh century BC, and is the first mention in history of Chinese astronomy. In fact, however, the Hsi-Ho pair represent the mythical being who is sometimes the mother and sometimes the charioteer of the sun, according to Maspero's view. Astronomy was the secret science of the Chou priest-kings. But we have no precise record of the Chou period, except what can be deduced from the speculations of the period which follows. All that can be said is that the observation of eclipses, especially eclipses of the moon, was of a purely empirical nature and went back to very ancient times. The first certain observation is that recorded in the *Shih-ching*, and its date is 734 BC; but others earlier were mentioned on Shang divination bones, with dates in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

In India of the Early and Late Vedic periods science is of a sacral and ritual nature and is always connected, directly or indirectly, with the proper execution of a sacrifice or with the sacred texts. We cannot properly speak of systematic empirical observations.

We can get a very vague idea of Vedic astronomy from scattered passages of the *Veda*, particularly the *Brāhmaṇa* of the *Yajurveda*. In Late Vedic times, perhaps much later, the traditional conceptions of astronomy got codified in a very short treatise called the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga*, of which there were two recensions, one with 43 verses and the other 36. This work is eminently practical in character; it provides instruction for calculating the auspicious days and hours for sacrifices. Towards the end of this period

some Babylonian influences seem to have penetrated into India through the Achaemenid empire, but of this we shall say something in Part II. Indian astronomy was established to meet the needs of the calendar and for the knowledge of cosmic movements, which Brahmanic liturgy had meant for a long time to appropriate as its own.³³ The Vedic year was luni-solar, being divided into 360 days with 12 months: it comprised first 3 and later 6 seasons. To correct the discrepancy arising from the solar and lunar elements use was made of a 5-year cycle (*yuga*), during which 2 months were intercalated according to the methods left undefined by the *Vedāṅga*. Already in the Vedic age the main characteristic of Indian astronomy is represented by the 27 *nakṣatra* or mansions of the moon, the main purpose of which was to determine the relations between full moon and the sun.

The Babylonians, and indeed the Mesopotamian peoples in general, applied themselves from very early times to empirical observation and measurement of cosmic phenomena in order to formulate regular laws and forecast future occurrences, for instance eclipses. At least as early as the eighth century Chaldean priests had observatories from which they ceaselessly watched the course of the sun, the earth, and the planets, in relation to the fixed constellations. They gradually attained the conception of the Zodiac, which after continuous improvements was given the most precise expression by astronomers of the Persian period of Babylonia, about 538. They expounded theories about solstices and equinoxes, estimated the duration of days and nights at the various seasons, and made similar calculations. But an inevitable result of this very precise knowledge of the time relationships affecting cosmic processes was that in the state service of these countries astronomy became confused with astrology; yet the link between the two provided fresh impulse to the perfection of observation and calculation. The documents of King Ashur-banipal (669–630) are the high watermark in the history of the astronomical and astrological studies which had been going on in the previous centuries. It is to the Babylonians that Herodotus (II, 109) ascribes the invention of the astronomical instruments which later passed to the Greeks. But the whole question of the 'Syrian year', so far as chronology is concerned, is much in debate among modern scholars.

The Egyptians made little progress in astronomical studies after the end of the previous epoch. They had already by empirical methods established the relation between the 'Sotiac' year, which contained $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and was presumably used by the priests, and the 'approximate' year of 365 or 366 days. The relation was based essentially on observation of the times of Nile floods, on the intervals between the dawn rising of Sirius, and on the passage of the sun through the ecliptic.

In Greece astronomical observation was still in its infancy during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. The only constellations mentioned in the Homeric poems (*Iliad*, XVIII, 486) are the Pleiades, the Hyades, and the Great Bear, which was used to guide seamen; and Hesiod's attention

to the most complex celestial phenomena is given only for their local significance in relation to work in the country. But from the first half of the sixth century astronomical notions began to gain ground. They came partly from direct observation, partly from learning derived from contacts with the peoples of Anatolia, Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt, but most of all from philosophical and dialectical speculations by the Greeks themselves. Theories to explain their observations multiplied unceasingly. The 'Ionian' philosophers attempted to formulate Laws of Nature, even before they had adequate information about the phenomena these Laws were meant to govern. At the same time the Pythagoreans, though equally lacking solid data, sought to explain the world through abstruse and secret formulae related to the theory of numbers.

When Thales of Miletus in the early sixth century supposedly predicted³⁴ the eclipse of the sun on 28 May 585, he must undoubtedly have made use (having served on campaigns in Lydia) of learning derived from the East, where they knew of the 223 lunations between two successive eclipses. Eastern learning probably also accounts for his affirmation that the angles subtended at the eye by the diameters of sun and moon are each $1/720$ of a full circle. It may be the Phoenicians who taught him that sailing should be guided not by the Great Bear but by the Lesser. It is doubtful whether he in fact anticipated Pythagoras in contending that the earth is round.

About the same time, or slightly later, Pherecydes of Leros constructed a sun-dial or 'gnomon' on the island of Leros to observe the sun's movements. His contemporary Anaximander of Miletus is also credited with this discovery, though here too Babylonia was probably the source. Anaximander later observed how the point at which the midday sun is vertical continually shifts with a spiral movement from tropic to tropic; and he affirmed that the earth is poised at the centre of the universe without any support.

A step backward was taken by Anaximenes of Miletus (died c. 528–524) who maintained that the earth was flat and supported on air, that the planets are to be distinguished from the fixed stars, being nearer to the sun, but that the sun, the moon, and the stars all took their origin from the earth.

Finally Pythagoras of Samos (died c. 497), who had, as we know from his disciples, travelled in Egypt and Babylonia and learned there many secrets in astronomy and mathematics, maintained that the earth is round and is isolated in space. To his astronomy he applied his theories about number and harmony.

c. *Mathematics and Geometry*

The Chinese word for mathematics, *suan*, is not older than Confucius: the character in question may originally have represented the counting-board. From the start Chinese arithmetic was associated with divination. The figures normally used today are already found on divination bones and tortoise-shells of the Shang period and on Chou period bronzes and coins.

From the very beginning the numerical system was decimal and multiplicative ('300' for example is expressed by characters for 'three' and 'hundred'); it is not cumulative like Latin, which wrote CCC. Only the lower multiples of ten (20, 30, 40) show signs of cumulative principles; with these exceptions the Chinese repeated all the nine original numbers with the addition of a place-value component, the latter not being itself a numeral: thus was laid the foundation of the positional system. Nevertheless the essential pivot was lacking, for there was no zero digit. The character *ling*, which indicates zero today, originally (in the *Shih-ching*) meant the rain-drop, clinging to some object; later it came to mean 'remainder'; but it was not used in the sense of 'zero' before the fifteenth century A.D. All these features, and still more the strict decimal notation, make the Chinese numerical system completely independent of that used in Mesopotamia.

There is apparently no long tradition behind mathematics in India: it seems impossible to discover anything of a mathematical nature in the *Rigveda*. The *Yajurveda*, however, already shows knowledge of a set of special terms for the higher powers of ten (up to 10^{12}); and the *Brāhmaṇa* (especially *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*) went even further in this direction. The geometry of the *Śulvasūtra* concerns the construction of the Vedic altar; but this text probably belongs to the second half of the first century B.C., and will be dealt with later on.

As regards Egypt the secrecy maintained by the priests and their scribes has meant that we have more knowledge of the practical application of mathematics than of the procedure and methods that were followed. But in general two things can be said. First, our period saw little more than a continuation of the methods invented in earlier generations: in many respects there was actual decadence. Secondly, there was still a tendency to use mathematics and geometry to resolve everyday practical problems, such as dividing food rations between groups of men or animals, apportioning tax payments in relation to the precise size of estates, and calculating the number of bricks needed for a building or the number of men required to transport an obelisk or remove a sand-hill in an exact period of time. The Egyptians showed no tendency to construct or even to simplify the methods which had come down to them. Even if antiquated and cumbrous these methods were considered adequate; for example the actual writing of the decimal system numerals required a very large number of signs in the traditional hieroglyphic; and arithmetical operations were carried out by simple counting, lengthy though it was.

The same may be said of their primitive reckoning of fractions, normally with the numerator 1. This did not prevent them, however, from reaching the solution of problems with two unknowns, or from understanding many of the properties of plane figures: the latter were necessary for their measurements. Herodotus (II, 109) records how Sesostris (i.e. perhaps Ramses II,

1292-1234 BC) had all Egypt divided into a number of quadrilaterals of equal area, in order to obtain uniform tribute from the population, and how he also gave each owner plots of land which exactly corresponded with those ruined by the floods: in this way, Herodotus says, geometry was born among the Egyptians, and it was later transmitted to the Greeks. The measurement of solid figures—pyramids, cubes and spheres—was very probably done by experimental means rather than by calculation.

The same phenomenon of methods discovered much earlier being preserved by tradition in our period is noticeable in the Mesopotamian countries, where the once flourishing culture of the Babylonians was now being maintained and transmitted by the Assyrians, but at a lower pitch. In the past they had undoubtedly attained most remarkable results, including the formulation of what we call Pythagoras' theorem and the solution of quadratic equations with two unknowns.

But the greatest discoveries of mathematical and geometrical truths were due to the Greeks, who were, having learned much from Eastern science, predestined to these studies by their lively intelligence and their invincible desire to understand causes and effects, to find rational explanations, and to engage in abstract thought.³⁵ With the Greeks the world passed from attempts to solve practical problems of mathematics and geometry to the construction of the most daring and successful theoretical structures. They showed later centuries the methods of research, and actually created the terminology which was later adopted throughout the world.³⁶

The ancients affirm that Thales, whose activity belongs to the first half of the sixth century, learned his geometry in Egypt: this should probably be taken to mean that it was in Egypt that he saw diagrams illustrating measurements and sought to draw general conclusions from them. He is credited with the enunciation of certain theorems: that a diameter divides the circle into two equal parts; that opposite angles formed by the intersection of two straight lines are equal; that triangles with three equal angles and an equal side are congruent; and that the angle inscribed in a semicircle is a right angle. By the use of triangles he propounded formulae for determining the height of a building or the distance away of a ship on the sea.

But the really outstanding discoveries in mathematics and geometry were those made in the last decades of our period by Pythagoras and his disciples. They were concerned not only with odd and even, or prime and compound numbers, but with prime numbers related to figures, that is to say with numbers which were imagined to represent the points of a plane figure (triangular, square, pentagonal, hexagonal numbers, etc.) or of a three-dimensional figure (pyramidal, cubic, parallelopiped, etc.). The Pythagoreans were responsible for the theory of proportions and the theory of musical intervals proportionate to the length of a chord at constant tension. Pythagorean arithmetic is illustrated by the work of Nicomachus and Theon of Smyrna in the first century AD and of Iamblichus in the third. It includes the

theory of 'perfect' numbers, and of 'side' and 'diameter' numbers; and it was the first to define incommensurate numbers and surds.

In geometry, besides the famous theorem which bears his name, Pythagoras was credited with thorough study of such matters as the five regular solids, the relation between areas of one plane figure and another, the properties of parallel lines, and the proposition that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles.

It is very difficult, often impossible, to distinguish what really goes back to Pythagoras, who left no written work, from the additions to the Pythagorean *corpus* made by his many faithful disciples, often exceedingly able men, in the century which takes us to the time of Philolaus, a contemporary of Socrates. The school was also influenced from outside by the modifications and criticisms suggested by Eleatic philosophers like Parmenides and Zeno, especially on the theory of incommensurate numbers.

Another matter which goes back to the Pythagoreans is the classification of the sciences of the so-called 'quadrivium', arithmetic, music, plane geometry (*geodesia*) and solid geometry (related to astronomy). One may add, in passing, that the people of central America seem to have shown a special tendency to appreciate abstract numbers.

d. *Medicine*

The legendary founder of Chinese medicine is the equally legendary emperor Shên-nung. In actual fact the evidence for the development of medicine before Confucius' time is exceedingly scanty. The *Chou-li*, a compilation of the second century B.C., describes the medical administration in the Chou palace with the rigid schematism characteristic of Confucian theorists, but seems to be founded on a core of genuine fact. There were five departments: general supervision including the health of the emperor; health of the people; ulcers and septic treatment; supervision of the imperial dietary; and veterinary service. The first certain item of a medical nature in historical records appears under the year 540 B.C. in the *Tso-chuan*, which was probably compiled in the third century B.C.: it speaks of an illness of the duke of Chin being recognized as due to a failure of *yang* (the male principle—see Part II). And that is about all the evidence for this period.

In India medicine appears as a profession as early as the native hymns of the *Rigveda*: the Aśvin twins are called 'doctors'. Medicine and magic are of course still indistinguishable. From various hymns in the *Atharvaveda* we can see that treatment consisted mainly in the use of herbs, water, and magic formulæ. Knowledge of pathology was quite elementary, although the *Atharvaveda* gives the names of a large number of diseases and symptoms without precisely relating the latter to the former. Anatomical knowledge, thanks to the technique used in sacrifices, did make some progress, and the vocabulary in this field is comparatively rich. Moreover the physiological speculation found in the *Upaniṣad*, in the form it takes towards the end of

this period, may be connected with medicine, since in some sense it provides its theoretical premises. This is a pneumatic theory of physiology, based on the five kinds of breath (*prāṇa*) which are supposed to give life to the body. On the one hand these breaths are identical with the forces of nature, on the other they correspond with the five organs of the human body, vision, hearing, speech, thought, and touch. The *prāṇa* of the human microcosm are linked with the macrocosm outside by a body of defined relationships.

Medicine in the Mesopotamian areas during the Assyrian period came to a standstill for a time, though the knowledge obtained in the preceding generations was substantially maintained. Men still believed in the importance of a patient's dreams to determine the nature of his illness, in diseases caused by devils or cast on the sufferer by sorcerers, and in 'possessed' persons who made the world around them unclean. Many primitive methods of a magical character were still employed to deal with disease. As time went on, however, some use at any rate was made of suggestion to influence recovery; and it was accompanied at intervals by dietetic remedies and hygienic prescriptions, and by the administration of genuine medicines which had been proved useful by experience. Water, the element of the goddess Ea, mother of Marduk, was of fundamental importance in effecting cures—by baths, washings, compresses and the like—and the doctor was called A-su, the man learned in water. The other element which was at the root of all healing was fire, applied mainly from small torches: fire was dependent on the god Gibil. Appropriate measures were taken against devils and witchcraft: cords and knots to imprison the devils, and exorcism by means of amulets, imprecations, curses, mysterious magical formulae, and similar symbolism.

The heart was still believed to be the seat of the intellect, the blood was the source of life, and the liver the origin of its circulation. Surgical operations had been known for centuries. They must throughout have involved a heavy responsibility for the men performing them; but anatomical knowledge progressed as a result of the operations themselves and of the dissection of animals.

Hebrew monotheism had been preceded by polytheistic ideas, which had not been completely abandoned. There always remained some form of struggle between the idea of God, who was the source of health and punished the wicked with diseases infecting all around them, and the idea of the malignant devil corrupting mankind, who was pictured in the form of a serpent. Medicine was normally practised by the priests, but there were also empirical practitioners; and the embalmers were a profession on their own. In epidemics the Hebrews had recourse to isolation. There were hygienic rules about baths and diet, and some of the characteristic rites, such as circumcision, were perhaps a further measure directed to health.

In Egypt medicine was the science belonging to the god Imhotep. Its practice by the priests now came to be extended to private doctors, who were trained in schools annexed to the temples. A general feature in Egypt was

the tendency towards practical knowledge rather than theoretical. We have a number of texts about medicine from papyri of the period between the Thirteenth Dynasty and the tenth century B C. Every one of them is concerned with clinical experience and diagnosis; and they provide an enormous number of prescriptions for drugs and for magical or astrological practices, as well as recommending surgical treatments and rules of hygiene. The witch-doctor in Egypt was still convinced that any abnormal or unknown condition in illness resulted from malevolent influence exercised by evil spirits; and his first task was to use magical action to chase away such spirits before they took hold. So we get formulae, amulets, and all the elements of exorcism. But just because the magician became a doctor he was likely, when his magic had been tried, to have recourse to alternative cures like drugs, and gradually to try out their efficacy.

But though medicine allowed this system of trial and error, and was almost working in the dark, the case of surgery was different. Direct knowledge of the cause of the trouble made surgeons more confident, and cleared their path of the survivals from magical practices. In fact anatomy and comparative physiology had made great progress through the embalming of human beings and animals at the hands of specialists: the progress is shown by the fullness of anatomical vocabulary. The beating of the heart and pulses had long ago brought understanding of the fact that the heart is connected by channels with all parts of the body; but dissection of the dead (and not the living) had left men doubtful as to what flowed in these channels, air or water or mucus or some other substance. They had succeeded in establishing the correspondence between particular movements of the brain and particular activities of the body; but they went on to postulate a curious relation between the ear and the pulmonary system. Hygienic prescriptions had made remarkable progress in recommending bodily cleanliness, physical exercise, abstention from meat unless its condition was assured, and circumcision. Just as a father was forbidden to expose his children, so the doctor was not allowed to assist abortion. From the time of the Homeric poems (see *Odyssey*, IV, 220) to that of Herodotus (II, 84)—and indeed as late as the composition of the works used by Diodorus (I, 82)—the Greeks were generally convinced that the best medical specialists were to be found in Egypt; and the Persians, too, had held this view. In the course of centuries starting in the Minoan and Mycenaean periods Greece was vitally affected by medical science coming from Egypt, as also from Anatolia, Syria, and the Mesopotamian lands. The influence was greatly strengthened when Hellenic colonies were planted in the East and when Greeks began to travel in these parts.

From Minoan and Mycenaean times the Aegean world possessed a remarkable amount of medical knowledge. We know this not only from the discovery of advanced systems of hygiene in the palaces of Crete, with their conduits, drains, baths, and latrines, but from the high qualifications assumed

to exist among Homeric doctors like Podalirios the physician or Machaon the surgeon, both of them secular practitioners and highly specialized. In mythology, too, there are many divinities connected with medicine: some, like Apollo, Athena, and Hygieia, were common to all the Greeks; others like Chiron and Asclepius were localized, and were regarded as heroes by those who did not worship them as gods. The cult of Asclepius, however, gradually gained ground,³⁷ and he became a god to the whole Greek world; temples were erected to him, and their priests became the most distinguished doctors of Greece. The shrines in question were originally placed near sacred springs, with groves near by for the pilgrims and the sick people; later they were equipped with proper rooms for lodging and treatment, at which point we reach the first stages of clinics and hospitals.

In early days treatment was largely of a magical character, based on the interpretation of patients' dreams. Cures were regarded as miraculous, and are described as such on ex-voto tablets which were hung in the rooms of the Asclepieum.

Later regular schools of genuine doctors gradually came into being, drawing some of their members from the laity. In these the magical element gave way more and more to actual clinical observation. The school of Cnidus, which began in the seventh century, relied primarily on diagnosis, by means of the symptoms recognized as belonging to each classified disease. The Cos school, which had come into being by the sixth century, mainly paid attention to prognosis and to the way each disease took its course. In later times medical schools were founded independently of the Asclepius temples, for example the one at Croton in Magna Graecia where the Pythagoreans gave instruction. Very soon two types of practitioner existed side by side: the traditionalist, who still employed magic, and the man who liked to be called a 'physician' because he was an observer of human nature in relation to its environment.

Pythagoras, for example, believed that human action emanated from 'universal' action, and supposed a relationship between microcosm and macrocosm of a kind that was later taken up by Plato and the neo-Platonists. The Pythagoreans of the fifth century, Alcmaeon and his disciples Acron and Pausanias, made use of dissection of animals to achieve various anatomical discoveries, such as the optic nerve and the 'Eustacian tube'. In general they believed that health depended on harmony between the elements constituting the body: disharmony brought disease.

Empedocles on the other hand was a follower of Anaximenes (died c. 528-524), who had maintained that air was the primordial element of nature, embracing the universe and constituting the soul which supported the human body. Empedocles himself (died 430) believed that *pneuma*—air, breath, the spirit that rises trembling from sacrificial victims—was the element which runs warm round the heart and veins and which gives life. In this way he was responsible for the development of a 'pneumatic' school,

which was advanced further by the fifth-century philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia. For the rest, however, Empedocles was still an exponent of the tendency to combine magic and miracles with genuine observation of nature: yet his own observation was particularly acute, and it eventually led him to discover that respiration takes place through the pores of the skin.

Among Italian peoples the earliest and least derivative advances in medicine were clearly due to the Etruscans, whose Lucumones, according to the Greeks, were descended from Circe, the enchantress skilled in drugs and incantations. It was from Etruria that the rudiments of medicine must have penetrated to Rome. There the earliest ideas on the subject were theistic, as we know from hearing of goddesses of particular diseases such as Febris, Mephitis, and Fessonia, or protectors of particular parts of the body like Uterina, or deities concerned with particular physiological functions like Lucina (the goddess of childbirth). At the head of all was Salus, later worshipped in a temple on the Quirinal. Cato, the Censor, used to say that Rome had lived 'without doctors, but never without medicine'; and in his day diseases in men and animals were still largely treated by magic and ritual, to the accompaniment of mysterious formulae, while health-giving virtues of a general kind were ascribed to certain herbs and to other vegetables such as cabbage. Tradition required every family to preserve the prescriptions and formulae which the *pater familias* was accustomed himself to use.

Pharmacology. The number of substances believed to have healing properties gradually grew as discoveries were made empirically by various peoples in very different parts of the world. One people told another about their virtues, which became better and better understood. At the same time many methods of preparing and administering these substances were invented and became more widely known. Some, it is true, could be swallowed in their natural state, but others had to be crushed or cooked or cleaned; and later they might have to be processed into extracts, pills, or other readily assimilable form, or manufactured into ointment for use in plasters, massage and the like, or even made suitable for administration in inhalations, suppositories, or enemas.

Examples of the materials employed in the earliest times and explanations of their use are provided chiefly by the medical papyri of the Egyptians, who made use of all kinds of substances, animal, vegetable, and mineral. Animal substances included meat, but more particularly fat—from cattle, asses, hippopotamuses, lions, mice, bats, and lizards. The scrapings from horns or tortoise-shells were other ingredients; also portions of skin, bones, and talons, calcified and ground.

Vegetables, prepared by specialists, were sometimes useful in their entirety. Sometimes only the roots, stalks, flowers, fruit, seeds, marrow, or juice would be employed. Many types had proved their worth as medicaments, like poppy, aloe, mint, pomegranate, or henbane. Solutions were usually

made in milk, honey, wine, or beer: ointments were based on honey or goose-fat. Special closets and containers were available for keeping medicines. Comparatively sensitive scales were employed to weigh doses which had been precisely prescribed.

Most of these specialized usages and devices passed from the Egyptians and other oriental peoples to the Greeks, and from them on to the Romans.

e. *The Origins of the World*

An account of the theological explanations provided of the origins of the world may be postponed until we reach the history of Greek philosophy. In this chapter on science we need say nothing further about Pherecydes, or about the Ionian 'physiocrats' from Thales onwards with their explanations in terms of single elements, or about Anaximander's theory of the transformation of organic entities from one substance to another.

Serious study of particulars in animal, vegetable, and mineral nature began in the fourth century B.C. But the foundations had been laid in the keen observation of nature which had been going on for centuries, especially at the hands of poets and artists. One has only to number the figures of animals and plants, sometimes represented realistically and sometimes stylized, in sculpture, murals, and vase-painting beginning in Minoan and Mycenaean times; the descriptions and similes drawn from domestic animals and from plants in the poets from Homer downwards; and the references to work in the country in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Theophrastus tells us of early writers on botany and agronomy. As to minerals, the evidence of metal-work, architecture, jewellery, sculpture, and carpentry shows how every type was known and understood.

f. *The Beginnings of Philology*

In the Greek world philology did not develop as a science till the fourth century (see Part II), but some of the earlier attempts made in this direction by eastern countries are worth remembering. The biblical etymologies of proper names are an example; so are the various glossaries and the documents written in more than one language, of which we spoke in the chapter on 'Language and Writing'. These include bilingual texts in Assyrian and Sumerian, in Chaldean and Assyrian, and in Hittite and Phoenician (the Karatepe texts); and trilingual texts in Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. Their main purpose, however, was to clarify the significance of cuneiform.

In India the fact that the *Veda* were sacred writings, unborn and undying, inevitably led to jealous care to preserve the purity of their text. This gave rise to whole series of post-Vedic writings, which were classified as one of the six *Vedāṅga* (ancillary sciences of the *Veda*). They were given the name of *Sikṣa-Vedāṅga* and were concerned with the correct pronunciation and accentuation of the *Veda*.

The earliest manuals of this kind have the general name of *prāṭisākhya* and are in prose. More highly favoured later on were the *sūtra*, collections of pithy mnemonic verses, which could be fully understood only with the aid of oral instruction. Very soon the texts began to be examined from the grammatical standpoint; grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) was another of the six *Vedāṅga*. No grammatical writing of the Vedic period has been preserved, unless one classifies under this head the *Uṇādisūtras*, which deal with the derivations of nouns from the roots, or the *Phitsūtra*, which are concerned with accentuation. Both these works, at any rate in their earliest form, refer to the Vedic language and not to Sanskrit. Etymological speculation, another of the six *Vedāṅga*, is represented only by the *Nirukta* of *Yāska*, a series of etymological analyses of Vedic words which had been collected in an earlier work, the *Nighaṇṭu*; the introduction to the *Nirukta* does constitute a genuine small treatise on general grammar.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Some of this material is excellently treated by Jacquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind*, Volume I-1, Chapter XI, and Volume I-2, Chapters IV, V, and VI.
2. In the early period of their history the Phoenician and Carthaginian colonies were not agricultural, and so could not serve as centres for the diffusion of agriculture. In North Africa, as in other areas of Phoenician colonization, agriculture developed without the aid of the Phoenicians. (K. M. Kolobova.)
3. See Jacquetta Hawkes, *History of Mankind*, Volume I-1, Chapters VIII and X.
4. In Carthage agriculture was still in its infancy in the fifth century. Mago's work relates to a later period, and cannot be cited in this context. During this period there was indeed highly developed agriculture in Syria and Phoenicia, but we know relatively little about it. (K. M. Kolobova.)
5. See Appendix, Chapter I, pp. 49 ff.
6. On domestication of animals see also Jacquetta Hawkes and Sir Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind*, I, pp. 279 ff., 519 ff.
7. In Professor F. M. Heichelheim's view bee-keeping goes back to Mesolithic times. He adds that the cat was domesticated in Egypt, and the pigeon (very probably) in Babylonia.
8. Professor H. Michell questions whether there is evidence for any such decline. See the discussion in his book *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 76.
9. The Minoan palaces in Crete were destroyed twice—about 1600 and about 1500 BC. In the first case they were all restored and enlarged. In the second case the Palace of Knossos survived, although it underwent reconstruction in connection with the appearance of the 'Throne Room'. (K. M. Kolobova.)
10. Dr A. G. Drachmann calls attention to the great improvement made to the early plough when a mould-board was added.
11. Professor H. Michell doubts whether oats were cultivated in ancient Greece: the word *bromos* means the wild oat, which was regarded as a weed. See also A. Jardé, *Les Céréales dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1925), p. 4.
12. For discussion of the ancient evidence about crop rotation, which leaves one in some doubt about the extent of Greek knowledge of the subject, see H. Michell, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

13. L. A. Moritz, *Grain-mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1958), has now established a strong case for believing that the rotary mill was not invented before c. 200 BC, and that consequently before this time the use of animals was impossible. If he is right this is a most interesting example of the unevenness of technological advance in ancient times.
14. Fabius Pictor, the Roman senator and historian, fought in the Second Punic War (late third century BC).
15. Professor H. Michell (see *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, p. 192) shows that furnaces were not hot enough to produce pig iron: they produced wrought iron, which requires only 700° C.
16. The Chalybes were a real tribe, though most of the stories about them were pure legends.
17. Professor F. M. Heichelheim notes that for profitable iron-working it was also essential to have a supply of cheap charcoal.
18. Perhaps also, as Professor F. M. Heichelheim suggests, the Celtic warriors in southern France and northern Italy may have helped here.
19. Coral came to Mediterranean countries from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.
20. Dr A. G. Drachmann points out that a solid wheel, too, could rotate round an axle.
21. See Appendix, Chapter I, pp. 49 ff.
22. Thucydides (I, 13) appears to put this invention as early as 700. See, however, J. A. Davison, *Classical Quarterly* (1947), p. 18, who adduces arguments for a much later date (late sixth century).
23. Professor F. M. Heichelheim recalls also the much earlier 'Ophir' expeditions from Elath on the Red Sea to (probably) east Africa, carried out on orders of King Solomon.
24. Professor H. Michell objects that *pecunia* derives from the 'ox-standard' of value, mentioned often in Homer, and that it is unlikely that livestock—generally speaking—were a main constituent of trade. Especially not, one would think, of trade by sea.
25. At the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennia the Phoenicians carried on an extensive trade as intermediaries. They played an important part not only in the slave trade but also in the development of production for the market in the Mediterranean lands. (K. M. Kolobova.)
26. The importance of Croton and Sybaris must not be overlooked, the latter (until her destruction c. 510) being Miletus' main source of raw wool.
27. The lay-out described in this paragraph naturally came about only by degrees. In particular the bankers' offices would not have been seen before the late sixth century BC.
28. For the probability that the earliest Greek (silver) coinage was struck in Ionia c. 620 BC, see above, p. 53, n. 22. The earliest gold coinage probably appeared in Lydia and Ionia under Croesus (c. 560–546). The ratio of gold to silver probably fluctuated widely: Herodotus (III, 95) appears to give a ratio of 1:13 in the Persian empire.
29. A weights and measures table which prescribed 73 drachmae to the mina is hardly conceivable. The figure is probably due to a manuscript corruption in Plutarch, *Solon*, 15.
30. Many scholars now, however, believe that there was no Athenian coinage before Solon, and that what Athens did was first (under Solon) to join the Euboic *metric* system, and then (later) to coin on this system.
31. Professor H. Michell (see also *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.) doubts the profitability of slave labour. But for a much more favourable estimate (akin to Professor Pareti's) of the returns accruing to owners, both from the use and from the hiring-out of slaves, see A. H. M. Jones, *Economic History Review* (1956), pp. 187 ff.
32. Professor P. Bosch-Gimpera would place both these explorations about 450 BC. For argument in support of Professor Pareti's date see M. Cary and E. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London, 1929), pp. 47 ff.
33. It should be pointed out that the beginnings of Indian astronomy do not show that observation of the heavens was used for astrological ends, and that the astronomical

phenomena (as well as the meteorological phenomena which they noticed, such as the monsoon from the south-west) appear to have given rise to a general conception of a natural cosmic order (*ṛta*, see Chapter V, p. 226, later *dharma*). The concept of such an order as demonstrating truth and justice appears in any case common to the Iranians and Indians; the ancient Persians knew it under the name of *arta* (as well as *arta brazmaniya* or 'Brahmanic order'), and in the *Avesta* under the name *asa*.

The Vedic system (*Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda*) of *nakṣatra* allows the marking of positions of the sun in relation to the full moon and also in regard to the *nakṣatra* themselves; the sun being in diametrical opposition with the *nakṣatra* passing the meridian at midnight. The determinations reached by this system are more precise than those of the zodiac which has only twelve divisions and uses the less precise observations based on heliacal risings and settings.

34. It was generally believed in antiquity that Thales made this prediction. But O. Neugebauer (*The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* [Copenhagen, 1957], p. 142) argues cogently that he could have done no such thing.
35. Professor K. M. Kolobova would rather emphasize the requirements of Greek society, their socio-economic system, and also the fact that Greek scientists in many instances proceed from the achievements of scientists in the ancient East.
36. As Professor Ch. Th. Saricakis points out, the most fundamental contribution of the early Greek mathematicians was the discovery of mathematical proof.
37. Although its greatest advance probably comes in the period covered by Part II, i.e. in the fourth century B.C.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL LIFE

I. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THE rate of political and social progress in the ancient world was as uneven as that made in other directions. Primitive ideas and institutions of which only traces remained among the leading peoples were still active among others, the precise development of the latter depending on the nature of their contacts with the leaders. A good example can be seen in the small family groups¹ which got established in independent states, each one working on its own with its own permanent or temporary headquarters. The leader might be a priest-magician, or the mightiest man of war, or the oldest and wisest head of a family. This 'tribal' organization continued to be the basis of life among the peripheral peoples, especially in mountainous districts or in steppe and semi-desert country; at the most such regions might achieve federation between a set of tribes, often because they had some of their more important cults in common. But among more civilized peoples the ancient tribal divisions tended to lose their independent status as the total population and its territory grew in size. They were converted into regional divisions used for administrative convenience and for the military levy.

a. *Early Forms of Monarchy*

In archaic times the more progressive peoples were mostly ruled by a king, whose nature and attributes depended on the particular historical background. Especially in the East the king was conceived to be the living personification of a god, or the divine descendant of the dynasty's divine founder, a conception stubbornly preserved when the monarchy ran into trouble, or when assaults were made on its power. When for example in Egypt the priesthood, especially the priests of Ammon, god of Thebes, grew politically and economically powerful, and successfully challenged the rule of the Pharaohs, the new sovereign would still identify himself with a god, both in his lifetime and after his death; and the same happened when the native dynasties gave place to foreigners, Libyans or Nubians. The conception was still maintained even after the conquest by the Persian king: he too had become successor to the Pharaohs, and took care to secure his divine investiture. The Egyptian king's position in matters of religion, war, and justice was not in any doubt.

Less ambitious ties linked the Assyrian royal house with Ashur, the god

who protected the capital city of their empire. Amid the high-sounding boasts which accompany the royal titlature from the days of Tiglath-Pileser I, who founded the empire in the eleventh century, to those of his last descendant, the seventh-century Ashur-banipal, we have to scan the inscriptions carefully for phrases defining the relation between king and god. We find words like 'desire of the heart of the gods', the 'exalted priest', who reigns 'by command of Ashur of Shamash and Marduck': he is 'procreation of Ashur and Beltu'; 'Ashur and Sin have called him to the Kingdom in days long past, appointing him even in his mother's womb to pastoral duty over the realm of Ashur'; 'Shamash, Addu, and Ishtar have bidden him wield the royal power'; 'he walks in awe under the word of the gods, to possess their sanctuaries and thrones, to execute their bidding, and to placate their hearts'; and he is their 'priest who implores their help, and with it he has vanquished all his enemies'. Admittedly, then, the Assyrian ruler is theocratic, owing his position to the god whose priest and vicar and governor he is. But he does not fully and directly identify himself with the god.

Of the Medes, Herodotus tells us (I, 96 ff.) that Deioces was chosen king because he administered justice better than any other. If the story is well founded, we may suppose that judicial functions were what mattered most in the king's power; and later the Magi, with their Zoroastrian doctrines, said Deioces behaved in this way because he knew that 'the unjust is enemy of the just'. The Achaemenid Persian rulers, who had initially been vassals of the Medes, were regarded as 'chosen' of the gods: at first of Bel and Nabu, then of Ahura-Mazda. They were raised to more than human stature as fathers of their peoples; they were supermen with whom no mortal might dares to stand compare (Herodotus, III, 160). This exalted position found reflection in the concept that their empire must extend to all quarters of the world. But the tolerance they accorded to the religions of conquered peoples allowed them, when they became sovereigns elsewhere, to be identified also with the gods of whom the rulers they had defeated were regarded as incarnations.

The Hebrews were used to nomadic life in tribes which were separate, or at best united into confederacies by sacred ties around a common temple. They were ruled by local chieftains (Judges), who were chosen by the grace of their god Yahweh for their military, political, or religious deeds. But when the whole nation, at that time in a state of social and economic evolution, had to engage in war against the Philistines, who were powerfully organized because a single monarchy ruled over them, then they too belatedly adopted a monarchic form.² An intermediate step was the combination of religious and political power in the hands of Samuel, priest of the shrine at Shiloh (tribe of Ephraim), who first made his influence felt by religious means, and then with the aid of his sons established a recognized position as a Judge. But later he conferred the dignity of King, first secretly and then openly, upon Saul. Samuel kept the religious power in his own hands, but very soon

the dualism between king and priests broke up and he was compelled to withdraw from active life. Under David and Solomon the monarchy became unified and dynastic, but under Solomon's son tribal differences and religious dissension caused the nation to split into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

The archaic period of Greek monarchy is revealed in two phases, the earlier attested by the archaeological evidence of the Mycenaean palaces, the latter by the literary evidence of the Homeric poems. The king based his power on descent from a god worshipped by his subjects, and was therefore regarded as a demi-god or hero. His power was transmitted by a combination of election and heredity; and he was at once chief priest, supreme arbiter in lawsuits of first instance and on appeal, and military leader. He controlled his people's goods³ to the best advantage of the state, and the life of the state was entirely centred in him. Lord of large domains, he lived in a rich and massive palace, surrounded by the eldest and most experienced heads of families; and from the moment of his accession he was recognized as legitimate ruler. He was splendid in his pomp and valiant in war, bestowing some of the booty on the most deserving of his 'hetairoi' or *amici*; and as the owner of slaves, horses and chariots and powerful weapons of war he was feared by his almost unarmed subjects. He was called the *Wanax*, the *Basileus*, the 'shepherd of people', the bravest and richest of men, hero or demi-god; his exploits in peace and war brought him glory; and after his death he merited divine honours.⁴

The Italic peoples, too, those of both the first and the second migration, had from the first, in common with the Celts, the concept of King. We find it among the Siculans (*resos*), and among the Itali at the tip of the peninsula (Rhegium), in Latium (*rex*), among the predecessors of the Etruscans in Tuscany (Regisvilla), among the Oscans ('*Diuvei regaturei*' on inscriptions of Agnone in Campania), and among the Celts and peoples related to them (*rix*). In Latium a more primitive story of kings who were priests or almost magicians still survived in historical times in the *rex Nemorensis*, who had to yield his place to any stranger who could overcome him. The monarchy at Rome, however, had a relatively recent origin. It grew up afresh in the eighth century, when the inhabitants of the primitive villages, probably by peaceful accord among themselves, established 'Roma Quadrata', sometimes called 'Romulea'. There was no previous dynastic tradition to allow the king to rule by right of divine investiture. He was first and foremost the 'delegate' of the people who chose him, and to him men condemned by the popular assembly could appeal. The elective nature of the Roman kingship is shown by the way kings were drawn from different families; and it also explains the continuous control exercised over the kings by the body of *patres* or heads of families.

These conditions were profoundly altered with the Tarquins, who came as princes of the Etruscan conquerors: they were dynastic in their claims,

and their religious attributes were more marked. All religious features connected with the Roman kings can be shown to be of Etruscan origin—the triumph, crown, procession, *fascēs*, and lictors, and the tabernacle for taking the auspices.

Yet each of the Etruscan kings, until they began their conquests beyond Tuscany, held sway over a narrow country, in one of the cities belonging to the religious federation round the temple of Voltumna in the territory of Volsinii.

Indian society in this period has practically lost all its semi-nomadic features. Despite the prevalence of cattle-raising at the outset, the general picture we get from the Early and Late Vedic texts is one of a sedentary society, with its roots now firmly in the soil.

In India monarchy is the normal form of government. In the Vedic period the monarch is regarded mainly as a war chief, like the *Herzog* of the Germans. His title to kingship is first and foremost his ability as an army leader, displayed in the position of *viśpati* or *viśāmpati* or chief of a tribe. The monarchy developed in an atmosphere which was purely patriarchal. The Vedic texts are conspicuously religious in outlook, but the king never appears in them as a divine personage nor even as a 'hero' in the Western sense of that term. Only in the Late Vedic period did features begin to appear, still in outline and with no general acceptance, which later became the basis of the idea of divine kingship, or rather of the divine quality of the dignity, not the person, of the king.

It is still a problem whether the oldest Indian monarchies were hereditary or elective. Some Vedic passages (*Rigveda*, X, 124, 8; *Atharvaveda*, III, 4, 2) seem to allude to a process of election by the elders or chiefs of the clans (*kulapati* and *viśpati*). But already in the Early Vedic period this seems to have been a pure formality of confirmation or acceptance; succession by heredity is the normal condition from the start. The position of the king varied in different periods. In the small Vedic tribal state the king's position is not an exalted one, nor are his powers absolute. Often he is merely the senior member in a council of clan chiefs; or at any rate there is a council (*samiti*) which controls his conduct of affairs. When the state grows bigger and possesses a regular territory, the position and privileges of the king naturally increase. It is to be noted that in no case did the king in India have sacerdotal functions; in the organization of later times, which was based on the caste system, the king is always a *Kṣatriya*. He has the duty of seeing to the execution of the great royal sacrifices; but he does no more than give the orders and provide the means, the rites themselves being exclusively the province of the Brahmans. Thus the monarchy is purely secular. Moreover, the king is in no way a legislator: his task is to be guardian and observer of the *dharma*, that moral and social law which has divine origin and is completely independent of the king, being based on the solid nexus of customs and tradition. The king is servant of the law, not its master.

Chinese civilization in the Chou period is entirely sedentary, without the smallest trace of nomadic or semi-nomadic ways. The Chou kings took their ancestry back to the mythical Hou Chi (the Millet Ruler), who was miraculously conceived when his mother stepped on the footmark left by a god (*Shih-ching*). But this does not make the sovereign a being of divine essence. The Chou king reigns through his own power and the power of his ancestors, who are a single bloc with the reigning sovereign, their combined power being the basis of the dynasty's fortunes. The monarchy is strictly hereditary; there is no sign of an elective system. The dynasty acquired its claim to legitimacy through divine mandate (*t'ien-ming*), the 'trusteeship' put in the hands of the dynasty's founder by the Celestial Sovereign (the national god of the Chou). This mandate was made manifest in the founder's success in defeating the last representatives of the preceding dynasty; it lasts till the new dynasty becomes unworthy of it, and then it passes to others. In other words the king is not divine, but he rules by divine commission.

The character of the Chou monarchy is very different from what the Shang had been. The Shang kings were heads of a patriarchal state, in which their authority was limited only by the difficulty of communications; on the periphery it melted into a vague suzerainty over Neolithic tribes. The Chou rule was the result of armed conquest by a people largely foreign to Shang civilization, and its nature, as finally settled after the consolidation of the conquest, was feudal through and through. In the organization designed by the Duke of Chou, the real founder of the state, the centre was the king, who was above all else a sacral head, being the sole repository of the great state cult. In theory the king was the absolute master, the fountain-head of all culture, but in practice he had no economic or military power of his own, and had to depend on the loyalty and good faith of the feudal lords. The lords came to be divided into five classes: *kung*, *hou*, *po*, *tsu*, and *nan*, often translated by our titles of duke, marquess, earl, viscount, and baron.⁵ These styles originally denoted degrees of relationship or rank of tribal chiefs, and were only later transferred to the rulers of the feudal states. The latter were originally commanders of garrisons planted by the Chou kings in Shang territory to hold it down. These commanders had been members of the royal house, or its faithful supporters; alternatively they were allies (chiefs of kindred races), or even sometimes representatives of the conquered people who had joined the conqueror. They had full civil and military powers in their fiefs, and were linked to the king only by religious ties and by a general duty to give him aid and assistance: these ties were soon relaxed, and their loosening led from the eighth century onwards to the disintegration of the Chinese feudal monarchy. Tradition, with enough historical probability, depicts the Chinese feudal system in the shape of a small territory (*chung-kuo*) governed directly by the king, surrounded by a fluid and variegated complex of outer states (*wai-kuo*) under feudal princes. Later the significance of the two terms was modified: *chung-kuo* comes to mean the bloc composed of

the small royal dominion and the original fiefs which had been granted in the eleventh century, and *wai-kuo* now means the fiefs added later on the periphery, by conquest or voluntary accession, or by breaking away from the older ones. In the feudal states the dominant class was a hereditary and closed aristocracy, which was jealous of its prerogatives; outsiders found it most difficult to gain admission. Its economic basis lay in landed property, as did the reason for its social superiority. Apart from the five orders of feudal nobles listed above, the mass of the dominant class consisted of gentlemen (*shih*), who were specialists in the use of arms (above all the bow) and in handling chariots of war; they were much like the knights of medieval Europe. Their way of life and outlook were largely different from those of the lower orders. Courtesy, respect for ceremonial, and the art of the right social relations were their chief characteristics; but above all their ability to read and write, and so to create a flourishing literature, was an inheritance they alone enjoyed.

b. *From Monarchy to Republic*

The primitive king in Greece was mainly concerned with the life of the state,⁶ and only secondarily with his individual subjects. When they were able to have recourse to their sovereign as arbiter of their private disputes, they invariably had to secure support from members of their own families to compel the culprit to pay the arbiter's fine. Even in war an individual soldier, although army units on a territorial or tribal basis did exist, was left on his own, for there was no proper tactical organization; any man might reasonably fear that he would be left alone during an attack, or be abandoned on the field of battle, wounded or dead. The king's subjects gradually made good these obvious defects in the monarchy's functions by uniting themselves into voluntary associations for mutual support in peace and war. These were the *Hetairiai*⁷ and *Phratryai*; later the union of several phratries produced *Phylai* or tribes.

In time the state began to use these private societies as administrative units; and at this point the magistrates of phratries and tribes became magistrates of the state, completing—and often replacing—the functions performed by the kings. This point in evolution⁸ is illustrated by the counsel given to Agamemnon by Nestor (*Iliad*, II, 362 ff.), 'Agamemnon, divide your men into phratries and tribes, so that phratry may give help to phratry and tribe to tribe'.

But clearly this development must have been a powerful factor in weakening the royal power. The king had for long required helpers in peace and war, because the state had grown bigger; but he was now accompanied by a set of official magistrates in every field where he had originally been sovereign—in religion, in the administration of justice, and in the organization and leadership of the army. His own presence, especially when policy was at stake, came eventually to be regarded as unnecessary or even harmful.

Meanwhile another political force was growing at the expense of the monarchy—the power of the nobles. For various reasons the division of agricultural land had become uneven, and large estates had become concentrated in the hands of a few. Such men had gained importance from undertaking duties on behalf of the king, and they came to retain many clients and slaves, who were ready to do them bold service. Often they were themselves descended from ancient families of kings who had lost their political power but not their wealth, or one of them might secure prestige as hereditary priest of some family cult which gained public recognition. For these and many other reasons a certain number of noble families (*genē*), which boasted of being able to exhibit their family trees, assumed social standing alongside that of the kings and eventually claimed political equality. Nobles of this kind had endless opportunities to challenge the ruler's will, to form coalitions against him, and to assault some or all of his prerogatives. There might be struggles for the royal succession; the king might be a minor, or sick, or away; there might be discontent or troubles on account of war or famine; risky enterprises of a military or political kind might be provoking nervousness; and there were the occasions when colonial expeditions were being prepared. The nobles, too, had more resources for arming themselves from the moment that arms were made of iron, a metal now in plentiful supply; so they, the great landlords supported by their clients, acquired even greater material power. In general the two anti-monarchical forces, represented by the nobles and the popular magistrates, tended to coincide, since the nobles were able to acquire the magistracies with all their other successes.

For a time the monarch, though he was reduced to becoming *primus inter pares*, was able to withstand the opposition with support from the common people (*dēmos*). But between the ninth and seventh centuries BC, except in outlying areas like Macedonia and Epirus, monarchy declined and fell fairly quickly. In some states it was ended by a *coup d'état*, in others it slowly lost its prerogatives one by one. Sometimes the ancient king retained only his religious functions, like the *Archon Basileus* at Athens. A peculiar development can be seen at Sparta, where an early period of sole monarchy appears to have been succeeded by aristocratic government in the hands of the three heads of tribes (belonging by heredity to the three families of Agiads, Eurypontids, and Aigeidai), supported by a college consisting of twenty-seven heads of phratries (a council numbering thirty in all).⁹ But the heads of tribes in the capital proclaimed themselves kings, one alongside the other; the third head, representing the Aigeidai who lived in the country districts, was added to the number of elders or chiefs of phratries, and so the senate numbered twenty-eight apart from the kings.

While monarchy generally tended to survive in the East, it disappeared fairly quickly among Western non-Indo-European peoples, such as Etruscans and Carthaginians, as well as among the Greeks we have already described.

At Rome the phenomenon occurred at the end of the sixth century, when two fundamental causes were operating at the same time. The supporters and delegates of the king had become state magistrates, and eventually, as in other areas, made the king appear almost an unnecessary encumbrance. And secondly, the kingly power was made odious by the accession of foreign rulers, the Etruscan house, who were imposed by force and did not adjust their power to meet the will of the patriciate of native landowners. Yet the Roman monarchy was not completely abolished. Its military and judicial powers were removed, but its religious authority, in part at least, was left to it; for with this the nobles did not dare to tamper, for fear of bringing divine wrath upon themselves. So even after the fall of the kings Rome, like other Latin cities such as Tusculum and Lanuvium, had a *rex sacrificulus* or *rex sacrorum*; and though the *pontifices* took away almost all his functions, and eventually his residence (*regia*) as well, so that he was confined to another building, he always in theory retained the first position among the priests.

In India one cannot speak of an aristocracy in the European sense, although the *kṣattriya* came fairly near it since in theory as well as in practice they had a monopoly of political power and the use of arms. But in northern India (Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar) there grew up, at much the same time as in Greece, a number of state formations (*gaṇa*) which may perhaps be defined as aristocratic republics. They exist side by side with monarchy, which, as we have already seen, was always the normal form of government in India. Very often these republics had a tribal form (the Mālava, Yaudheya, etc.); others governed definite territories or cities. They were oligarchic states in which political power was confined to a narrow aristocratic class. In some of them the members of the aristocracy were called *rājā*, a title which in this instance is practically synonymous with *kṣattriya*;¹⁰ and the rest of the population had no political rights. The origin of these republics may probably be found in the evolution, in an oligarchic direction, of those assemblies (*samiti*) of local chiefs (*viśpati*) which we have already encountered as counsellors and electors (in a formal sense) of the Indian king. The king had gradually sunk to be no more than a president, and was merged into the assembly. It is curious that Dravidian India never developed republican constitutions, despite its long tradition of village self-government, which was much stronger there than in the north. On the internal working of these republics our sources are fragmentary and relate to diverse periods; they allow us no more than an outline of certain basic principles. Public life was carried on in an assembly hall (*santhāgāra*) in the capital, where most of the aristocracy lived. The larger republics were divided into provinces under governors chosen from within the ruling class, but the cities formed autonomous units under assemblies of their own. Sovereignty was vested in a General Assembly comprising all the nobles, though naturally only a small proportion took an effective part in meetings. The Assembly elected officials and military leaders. Its chairman was a president (*saṅghamukhya*) whose

functions were like those of a head of state. Meetings normally lasted until agreement was reached, but if this proved impossible the decision was taken by a majority of votes. Executive power was in the hands of a small council (nine members in the Licchavi state, four in the Malla) with the *saṅghamukhya* in the chair. In this kind of aristocracy there was a natural tendency for offices to become hereditary, but it does not appear that this principle was ever fully accepted.

The Tyrannies. Greek economy was originally based almost entirely on agriculture and pasturage; yet the amount of grain produced by the land was limited, and opportunities for extending the area under pasture were small. So a growth in the population led quickly to the appearance of many persons who possessed little or no land. Moreover in some districts estates were being carved up into smaller and smaller plots to provide for a number of sons, while in others younger sons were being made into disinherited cadets, only eldest sons having the right of succession. All the time there was a natural tendency for large properties to grow at the expense of weaker neighbours; and the victorious patricians would confiscate the lands of small owners who had supported the fallen kings.

To the expansion of the poorer population two main remedies were applied. In some areas the poor, on account of debt, were tied to the soil in something like serfdom,¹¹ in others they were despatched as emigrants to distant colonies, where the land was initially divided into equal lots.

But in the colonies too the available land would get used up, and the population would reach saturation point. So there too would appear new companies of landless men, who had to become either wage-labourers or beggars. Moreover in both the colonies and the mother cities political power, the administration of justice, and all positions of importance were in the hands of the landed aristocracy, which managed things in a party spirit to suit their own interests.

In time, however, there came a change. A middle class was formed, whose wealth was in movable goods instead of land, and of them the *gamoroi* or landed proprietors had to take serious account. For the growth of shipping, piracy, trade, artisan work, and small industry had put sufficient and even ample means into the hands of many people who had had no economic status before. The introduction and spread of coinage made trade simpler, and removed the need for laborious and complicated barter of merchandise; it both promoted and accelerated the economic changes of this period. In this way too some of the *dēmos*, who had managed to get hold of some money, secured a position in which they could acquire arms and take part in military service, especially as the progress in metal-working had made arms less expensive. In the outcome the owners of movable goods became conscious of their new-found economic and material power and of their own importance in the life and defence of the *polis*. They began to make claims of a political and

social nature, to force the landed nobles to grant them a share in political power.

The challenge came more quickly in some states than in others, but practically everywhere it was accompanied by a succession of incidents and by severe stress. The first stage was normally a codification of the laws, in writing and therefore in public; this removed the distortions due to oral tradition, and put an end to the exclusive legal knowledge possessed by a small number of nobles, who were able to apply them for party advantage. So we get the earliest codes of law, which all could consult: the Spartan attributed to Lycurgus, the codes of various cities in Crete, the Draconian and Solonian laws of Athens, and the codes of Zaleucus at Locri, Diocles at Syracuse, Charondas at Catana, and Pittacus at Mitylene.

Then the new rich would seek to participate in political power as well, and the nobles, with a selfish traditionalist outlook, would continue to claim their monopoly. The resulting struggles were often violent and bloody, ending usually in the massacre and exile of the defeated *gamoroi*, whose property was confiscated and in part redistributed.

These struggles gave an opportunity to a number of men, often of exceptional ability, who made their first appearance in the seventh and sixth centuries. Either they were concerned with social justice, or they wanted dictatorial power for themselves: sometimes the power was transmitted to a family dynasty. They made themselves leaders and champions of the people, or rather of the newly enriched bourgeois class which had gained prosperity in the struggle with the landed nobility; they used the armed force this class provided, and later enrolled mercenaries as well, to occupy strategic points and increase their control. They also formed bodyguards for their personal protection. The power of these new rulers might to some extent be concealed, and they evoked varying degrees of support and opposition; their position was an improvisation, and they were given the name of 'tyrannoi', which originally meant that they governed not by hereditary right but through having seized *de facto* power.

In the period of which we are speaking (i.e. in the seventh and sixth centuries) they first appeared, accompanied by a certain amount of political disturbance, in the states where the economic crisis had come soonest and where members of the *dēmos* had most rapidly and decisively gained wealth. In these states, in Asia Minor, especially Mitylene and Miletus, Euboea, Athens, the cities of the isthmus and the Argolid, and in Sicily, the consequent social conflicts had broken out earlier than elsewhere. But it was at the beginning of the next period that tyranny developed most.

The tyrants secured sovereign power and inflicted a mortal blow upon the aristocratic classes. In some cities these classes were destroyed, in others they were deprived of their political supremacy. Normally they took steps to open the magistracies to the people; and in order to break down the predominance which the nobles possessed in the old 'gentile' tribes, they

would create new tribes on a purely territorial basis. But above all they promoted the acquisition of wealth by men outside the nobility; for they developed sea-power, opened opportunities for trade, made conquests on land, and constructed great public works (harbours, canals, drainage, roads, temples, city walls, and so on) to expand employment and improve the conditions of their country.

The tyrants, especially in the following period, had importance in other ways. They successfully encouraged literature, and took great pride in the use they made of artistic works. They established and extended hegemonies of which their states were the centres; and they organized constitutions on semi-democratic lines, which normally continued after the fall of the tyrants themselves. The parts of Greece where tyrants were unknown remained in general much more backward, and continued to be subject to selfish oligarchies of nobles.

c. Militarist States

Certain states organized on a military basis deserve separate mention. These had few aims beyond conquest and its exploitation. In the Middle East a prominent example is Assyria, a country of agriculturists, shepherds and soldiers, of diplomats and greedy administrators, whose main qualities were violence and unscrupulous cruelty. During their fluctuating periods of power they valued nothing but the right of the strongest. The wars they waged in the name of their god Ashur were fierce and knew no quarter. Cities and crops were destroyed, canals were diverted, and prisoners-of-war were treated with savagery: the most fortunate were enslaved, the rest were impaled, flayed, mutilated, kept in dungeons, or dragged around with hooks in their mouths. It was rare that their victories were followed by a settlement designed in any way to amalgamate the conquered people with the conquerors. So the history of Assyria is a catalogue of continuous wars, the periods of hegemony being punctuated by withdrawal when they could not hold their own against coalitions of their enemies. In the end they collapsed because, one by one, they had lost their vast dominions.

The fact was that the Assyrian numbers were too small in proportion to the numbers they ruled; and they had increased the disparity and made it more dangerous by transplanting hundreds of thousands of conquered people into their own homeland. Moreover in their weaker periods they had allowed hordes of immigrants, mainly Arameans, to invade this district, so that in the end their own Assyrian language was submerged by the newcomers. The Assyrians therefore wore down their own forces with continual wars, and took no thought to replace the depleted areas by planting them with new citizens; meanwhile they had to put garrisons on the frontiers to hold down by force the recalcitrant areas they had newly conquered. In this way they weakened the defences at the centre of their empire and made it more difficult to deal with revolts; but their soldiers at the same time became

too greedy for plunder, and lost the iron discipline which had been the source of their power. They did have kings who cared for art and culture, but in those fields too the Assyrians were undoubtedly inferior to their Babylonian predecessors.

The militarist organization of Greek Lacedaemon (or Sparta) went to nothing like the same extreme lengths. This little state was originally limited to the Eurotas valley, but it then achieved the conquest of all Laconia and most of Messenia. At this point the conquerors found their numbers very small in comparison with those they had subdued; and to avoid the risk of being absorbed or overcome, a risk made obvious by the Messenian revolts, they reduced the civil powers of one group of subjects and the personal liberty of another. The ruling group, who called themselves Spartiates, became what amounted to a camp, an army quartered in the confiscated territory. The previous landowners became Helots, serfs compelled to work the lands which were once theirs but were now divided into lots assigned to the Spartiates; and every year they were compelled to hand to their masters an amount of produce proportionate to the average harvest obtained in the year in question. The rest of the territory was left to the Perioeci, who retained their personal freedom and title to their lands, but who had to pay tribute, surrender their political independence, and contribute auxiliary forces to the Spartan army.

The Spartans were now greatly outnumbered; and to maintain their position of dominance and be always ready to put down revolts they organized themselves into a permanent army. Every citizen was a soldier and must not be distracted from his military duties by the need to secure a living. So the state assigned each family a plot of land which had belonged to the Helots, but was now worked by the Helots for their masters. It was partly because these plots were of uniform value that the full citizens were called *Homoioi* or Equals. Each of them contributed part of the produce he received from his lot to the *Syssitia*, public military messes, in which they had to take at least one meal a day. Anyone who lost his economic status also lost his prerogatives as a full citizen; and no Spartiate could engage in agriculture, industry, or trade to the detriment of his military obligations. This militarist régime broke up the unity of the family. Selected children, after those with physical defects had been put away, were educated by the state in barracks, after which they entered the army at the age of 17 and left it at 60. The family lot was inherited by the rules of primogeniture, that is to say by the eldest male child, and families tended therefore to limit the number of sons.¹² Women were kept apart from their husbands, at any rate while the husbands were relatively young, and were regarded mainly as mothers and nurses. Ultimately, all Spartans were compelled by law to dress alike. Because he was a soldier, a Spartan could not leave the country without the government's permission.

d. *The Magistrates under Republican Constitutions*

We have explained earlier how magistrates had already begun to find a place in most areas while kingship was still in being. With the expansion of the state's territory, the king, who could not be everywhere at once, required men to help him exercise his prerogative. Then when monarchies fell, either by slow evolution or by revolution, power normally passed to such magistrates, now elected by the people. Some continued to hold the positions they had enjoyed when delegates of the king; others were fresh creations intended to carry out the functions previously discharged by the king or new functions which had not previously been performed.

At Sparta, for example, where the revolution against the monarchy had probably caused the creation first of a triad of tribal chiefs, then of a new dual kingship, the earliest magistracy was the Ephorate. There was one Ephor for each of the five territorial tribes¹³ into which the state was divided; and his functions were civil and censorial. The consultative assembly of the kings, which had previously been composed of the older heads of families (*gerontes*), was now restricted to comprise only twenty-eight people.

At Athens the king gradually lost his functions, which passed to persons nominated every year. The Eponymous Archon was in charge of jurisdiction, the Polemarch commanded the army, the *Archon Basileus* (also elected annually) retained the religious duties; and this college of new republican magistrates finally contained six other members, the Thesmothetae, who superintended the administration of the laws. Besides this college of nine Archons there was the Areopagus, replacing the King's Council; and of this all ex-Archons became members. The Areopagus judged cases of homicide, was guardian of the laws, and scrutinized the credentials of men chosen for the Archontate.

In some Latin cities the king was replaced by an annual dictator. But at Velitrae there were three pairs of magistrates, so the magistracies were assuming a collegiate character. Again the single praetor of the Alban League gave place to two; but at Rome, where collegiate power was instituted under two praetors (later called consuls), it was customary in times of emergency to fall back on a dictator, who held power for six months and was assisted by a *magister equitum*. Initially these two praetors were not on terms of equality, and the relationship of one colleague to the other was like that of the dictator to his assistant.¹⁴ The *praetor maximus* normally commanded the troops, the *praetor minor* dealt with jurisdiction. Magistrates of lower rank had to be added to fill army commands and to assist in both civil and criminal cases; and alongside the *rex sacrorum* (survivor of the king) more priesthoods were developed, some of them going back to the Regal period, others new.

We now pass to public administration in India and China. It is difficult to describe the main features of the Indian state in this period, since it is very dangerous to project backwards the ideal constructions of later manuals

like the *Arthasāstra*. But it is clear that in the Vedic state the king's power was limited by local councils (*sabhā*) and by the central assembly (*samiti*) in the capital, organs which were apparently aristocratic in character and possessed very ill-defined but mainly consultative functions. In the Late Vedic period, the *samiti* disappears altogether. The older type of *sabhā* also disappears; we find a new organ also called *sabhā*, which is a kind of state council with mainly judicial functions. The *Yajurveda* and *Brāhmaṇas* have preserved some of the titles given to ministers and high officials: *senānī* (commander-in-chief), *sūtra* (commander of the chariots), *grāmaṇī* (perhaps representative of the village chiefs), *saṃgrahītr* (treasurer), *bhāgadugha* (minister of finance), and (most important of all) the *purohita* (royal chaplain). These officials, together with the king's relations and the principal courtiers, formed a group of counsellors called *ratnin*.

The central structure of the Chou state at its height is fairly well known from classical texts (admittedly very late ones) like the *Chou-li* and *Li-chi*. But it is hard to say how much of this structure is real and how much is an idealization due to compilers of the Han period. It must again be emphasized that we are here concerned with the central structure—with institutions of the court and the executive offices of the sovereign; provincial institutions are comprised in the feudal organization described above. At the top of the administration, we are told, there were six ministries: of Heaven, under the *chung-tsai*, to keep a general watch on affairs; of Earth, under the *ta ssu-t'u*, for moral and cultural advancement of the people; of Spring, under the *ta tsung-po*, for religion; of Summer, under the *ta ssu-ma*, for war; of Autumn, under the *ta ssu-kou*, for punishment of offenders; and of Winter, under the *ta ssu k'ung*, for public works. At the head of each ministry was a president (*ch'ing*) and two vice-presidents. In addition the king was directly assisted by a Private Council of six high dignitaries, the three *kung* and the three *ku*. There is a strong cosmo-ethical element in all this, with hints of magic, which underlines the artificial character of the whole construction. Of the duties of the *pa* or prince-president something was said in the introductory chapter: the office was too intermittent to acquire precise features.

The administration of the Persian empire was laid down by Darius. He was able to take account of the innovations of his predecessors, and above all of Cyrus, for example the regional governments in the north-west, each under a satrap; and he had before him the example set by the great Eastern states, especially Egypt. He divided his huge empire into twenty satrapies, ethnic and geographical departments which also provided a basis for the distribution of commands, and for the organization of defence and tribute. The satraps were normally members of the imperial family or of the high Median and Persian nobility.

Darius created a successful balance between feudal and autonomist forces on the one hand and centralizing forces on the other. The independent chiefs of earlier days, after their subjection, gradually became officials of

the Great King. Competence was left with them in all matters affecting the life of their particular regions (roads, public works, feeding of the army, with some judicial work), and they were in charge of local levies and of tribute collection. But at every key strategic point were stationed troops depending directly on the king; and it was he who fixed the total tribute to come from the various satrapies, on principles which were worked out as occasion seemed to demand.

Darius was also wise enough to respect local religions, and to allow the legal forms of particular regions to continue once he had had them codified by competent assemblies: however it was probably he who appointed the judges. His fragmented country was only brought into a unified system by means of a powerful bureaucracy, radiating from the centre to the periphery. Scribes of Aramaic speech were entrusted with chanceries which controlled the correspondence between the central government and individual satrapies.

e. Political Power and Religious Power

Although in the Greek cities and at Rome there were only sporadic quarrels between the political and religious powers, in other parts of the world this struggle was most active, and it had important historical results. During the Twenty-first Dynasty (1090–?947) upper Egypt, nominally vassal to the Tanis Pharaohs, was led by Herihor, High Priest of Ammon at Thebes, into separation from lower Egypt; and a fruitless struggle for political predominance followed, while the whole country fell into disorder and decay. It was eventually reunited when Libyan princes (Twenty-second Dynasty) gained control and gave the High Priesthood at Thebes to the younger sons of the reigning house. But this was not the end of the struggle between the two powers. Some priests of Ammon were unwilling to submit to the Libyan dynasty and removed out of the country to Nubia, which they organized and ran as a theocratic state, holding its king under their control. Only eventually did the Nubian Pianckhi move over to the conquest of Egypt, or rather, as he put it himself, to its restoration (Twenty-third Dynasty). But the power of the Egyptian priests in their relations, for good or ill, with the sovereign is still evident from their hostility towards the Persian conqueror Cambyses, and then the favour they showed in contrast to his more dexterous successor Darius.

Farther east the Hebrews were more sensible of the dualism between political and religious authority from the time when Samuel, priest of the temple at Shiloh, invested Saul first secretly and then openly with the dignity of kingship. Samuel retained for himself the religious power. During the united kingdom which followed, the 'prophets' made themselves felt in opposition to the kings, the people, and even the priesthood. When the monarchy split into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the former was in trouble from the opposition offered by the priests to the syncretist religious

policies of the kings; but in Judah too there was some conflict between the two parties.

In the neo-Babylonian empire one has only to remember the quarrel between King Nabunidus and the priests of Marduk. The King was a pious builder and rebuilder of temples, himself the son of a priest and the father of a priestess, but he was accused of showing too little respect towards the gods. This quarrel helped the Persians to victory.

In Assyria the kings certainly met with religious difficulties as when Sennacherib in 705 failed to follow the procession of Marduk at Babylon; and the country was full of religious diviners. But the organization of the monarchy was too strong, and the conviction that the king was God's elect too firmly based, for the dualism to become significant.

The same is true of the Persian empire. Its kings were faithful to Zoroastrianism,¹⁵ but they also showed a wise toleration of the religions of their subjects. Foreign gods were brought within the system of the Supreme God which is the essence of Zoroastrianism. Yet the priests disapproved of these syncretisms, and their intolerance led to the usurpation in 522 of the Magus Gaumata, under whose orders a large number of temples of local gods were destroyed.

In India the relation between political and religious power was very close, especially in the Vedic and post-Vedic periods. Sacrifice is one of the most important state activities: only by sacrifice can one win victories over one's enemies, reap a good harvest, or achieve peace at home. So the priestly class had great importance in public life, and the king had to turn to it in almost every instance. Socially the Brahmans were not dependent on the king; besides, the royal chaplain (*purohita*) was a revered and influential member of the king's Council. On the other hand in the caste system there gradually developed a rigid definition of powers and functions, which prevented the priestly class from overstepping the mark. So tradition and social law placed the religious and the civil power in positions which made it possible for them to be fully interdependent and yet removed all possibilities of a clash.

In China from the earliest times there was never any dualism between the religious and political powers. In the first place Chinese religious feeling went much less deep than did Indian. But above all there was no state religion, only a state cult of a mainly civil nature like the Roman. The king was the supreme sacral power, the high priest, the one and only executant of the most important acts in the official cult. Very soon we meet with the theory that the Son of Heaven is head of family, state, and universe, unique as the sun is unique in the sky—a rigid monist conception which excludes the religious concerns of the individual and centres in the king both cult and administration—both Church and State. In this sense O. Franke has been able to speak of a Chinese theocracy.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES

a. *The Far East*

We know little of Indian cities in this period. The great urban civilization of Harappā has vanished;¹⁶ and the *Ārya* of the *Rigveda* did not know regular cities—only villages and hamlets of small size and little importance.

Nor did this situation alter much in the post-Vedic period. In the sixth and fifth centuries, however, some significance begins to attach to certain agglomerations of buildings in the shape of cities, fortified with walls, ditches, and sometimes thorn hedges. We are not well informed about the reasons for their growth, but they were partly religious and partly economic. Examples are Benares, a holy city from the start; Girivṛāja and later Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha (southern Bihar); Ayodhyā, capital of Kōśāla (eastern Uttar Pradesh); and Ujjayinī, capital of Mālava (Madhya Pradesh). About their appearance, planning, and functions in this period nothing can be said: archaeology is silent, and written evidence, which is almost entirely religious in character, provides very little about the subject.¹⁷ Taken all in all the cities of ancient India had little importance in the general picture of political life.

In China we know a fair amount about Shang cities thanks to the Anyang excavations, but as with contemporary India we have little direct information from archaeology about the cities of the Chou period. But one can easily see that the city in feudal China had no importance in any way comparable with that possessed by the city of the Near East or the Mediterranean: there was no town life and no urban class. As far as we can tell from classical texts, the ancient Chinese city was very small. It was in principle a fortress town (*ch'êng*), inhabited mainly by the feudal lord and his retainers; but later on a market area (*shih*) arose under its walls as a sort of commercial suburb. The capitals (*tu*) of the various principalities were distinguished from the royal cities or from those of the feudal lords (*i*) simply by the presence in them of the temple of the prince's ancestors. Regular inhabitants were few. The cities were agricultural and military, permanent camps built to serve as residences for the warriors and to shelter, in case of need, the entire working population (Granet). But these cities of refuge, surrounded by a double circuit of walls, were made by the commercial suburbs into economic centres. Its very nature, of course, deprived the ancient Chinese city of any autonomous existence. The country is everything: urban life is still in the future.

b. *The Middle East*

The origin of cities in the Middle East is treated in Volume I, and we can confine ourselves to certain general postulates. In the first place, cities grew up both independently and by imitation. At the outset many peoples could independently arrive, for a number of reasons, at the concept of a city,

and even devise cities of similar kinds; but later, when those peoples established mutual contact, these various systems influenced one another. In several districts there were villages which grew gradually with an increase in population among the people which built them. Alternatively there might be special features: they might be useful for royal palaces or great temples or other sacred buildings; they might lie on particularly salubrious soil, or on sites favourable for agriculture, seafaring, or relatively easy defence against foreign dangers. Then again in every region there were centres founded by a single deliberate act after a conquest or an invasion or a colonial enterprise: some prince might need one as his citadel; or they might lie at the crossing of important routes.

Sometimes if a city grew slowly its development was irregular and chaotic, with either no plan at all or at best with streets radiating outwards along the lines of the roads. When, however, a city was founded all at once, it might have a regular plan from the start and tend towards a rectilinear pattern or squared network. This was true of the lake-dwellings and *terramare*, and also of Roman colonies, the degree of regularity depending on the contours of the land. Some cities were always open: others were fortified either from the outset or in the light of later developments. Among inhabited centres there was generally a sort of hierarchy which came about spontaneously. The early Latins, for example, had *vici* consisting of a few rural families living in a single group; *pagi* or larger villages; and *oppida*, sites made more easily defensible by nature or by man. The *oppida* gave refuge to the populations of several *vici* and *pagi* in time of danger, and around them the earliest attempts at hegemony were made. In them were situated the organs of government and the temples of the common cult.

In Egypt newly created cities were still planned on chessboard lines, with wide processional streets flanked by trees and by statues of sphinxes, rams, and other figures. These were intersected by lesser roads; and the perimeter was circular or rectangular, sometimes with a wall. This was a layout prompted by the nature of the country, which is flat, with one axis lying along the river and the line of the hills and the other along the transverse canals. The plan was known at least as early as the Twelfth Dynasty, and may have spread towards Syria, where it had to meet the challenge of other schemes invented elsewhere. For in Mesopotamia rectangular cities with squared streets were in use by 2000 BC (Babylon), and survived in the eighth century (the El Merkez of Dur Sarrukim). Another method became popular in Anatolia (Troy) and in Syria (Zengirli, Qadesh, Carchemish): one or more circular walls would enclose streets leading from a central acropolis provided with its own defences, as we still find at Ashur in Assyria in the seventh century. Because they delighted in war, the Assyrians took trouble over their defences: they not only surrounded their towns with external and internal walls, but they dug canals from which the ground could be flooded in time of need, and made their temples and palaces in the form of lofty fortresses. None the less

we can see at Nineveh the attention paid to city services such as aqueducts, paved streets, and banking along the navigable rivers.

The fortified palace and quadrilateral city was a system continued by the Persians when they built their great capital cities of Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Babylon.

c. *Cities of the West*

Archaic Greece retained the Mycenaean system of open cities, consisting mainly of little huts and alleys surrounding a fortified acropolis. The arrangement of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Phylacopi is still to be found at Sardis in Asia Minor; and it can be seen at Athens to the south and north of the Acropolis. Sometimes, however, walls surrounded the whole city, as on the island of Gha in Lake Copais, where the circuit is a little under 2 miles round. An acropolis might be a long way from the residential area, and its defences were strengthened by artificial means, as with the ascents from the Pelargicon and the Enneapylos at Athens.¹⁸ But cities newly founded in hilly country, such as Elis, continued without fortifications even in the fifth century. Fortifications began to be common from the end of the sixth, when wars for supremacy were growing sharper.

The Greek colonies on the other hand had been founded at a single point of time in foreign territory and therefore needed defensive measures from the start. The only exceptions were those like Naucratis in Egypt which were merely a collection of trading-stations belonging to several competing Greek cities under licence of the country whose guests they were: the plan was a set of tiny houses facing narrow streets laid out like a chessboard. When a nucleus of regular colonists built its new home on land taken from native inhabitants, operations were performed of the kind attributed to the Phaeacian king in the *Odyssey* (IV, 7 ff.), who 'surrounded the city with a wall, made temples for the gods, and divided the land'. Under those conditions, unless the walls had to follow inescapable natural features, they would obviously be regular in shape; inside the city there would be an acropolis (or more than one) with still stronger defences; and where possible the houses would be laid out in a standard plan. Aerial photography makes this guess into a certainty for the earliest periods of the Sicilian cities, such as Acragas, Selinus, Solus, and Heraclea Minoa. The same was true of Miletus, every time it was reconstructed, and also of Cyrene.

The Italians had a natural tendency towards regular planning which was also inspired by the ancient example set by the earliest Etruscans in their *palafitte* and *terramare*, the regularity of which has been exaggerated but later underestimated in modern times. Another model was provided by the earliest Greek colonies. It was probably not so much in the Italian *oppida*, those towns which dominated their neighbours and served as a refuge in time of war, where a regular shape was designed, as in the low-lying and open

cities at the meeting-places of important roads. The *oppida* were built on steep hills, provided always that there was a supply of water; and their natural defences were reinforced with cuttings, ditches, mounds, ramparts, palisades, and sections of wall. Their roads could not be otherwise than twisted and irregular, of the type found at Vetulonia.

The influence of Hippodamus of Miletus¹⁹ has been exaggerated. Even before his work in the second half of the fifth century there are undoubted examples of cities with regular plans, such as the earliest part of Pompeii and the Etruscan city of Marzabotto, both certainly earlier than the end of the sixth. About the same time as we can see from the 'Servian' walls of Rome and the circuit at Norba, the system of walled perimeters was becoming common. It derives partly from the wars for supremacy, partly from the movement of invaders, and partly from the Celtic raids which were beginning at precisely this time.

In all districts the cities had an important and complex function to perform. They drew the population inwards, and contained the king's palace, the magistrates, the assemblies, and the law courts: they became the essential arteries of political and administrative life. In them were erected the most famous temples, and they were the seat of those priestly colleges which mattered most to the state cult. They provided most of the army, and with their fortifications formed the state's strategic centre. The wealth and labour needed for trade, artisan work, and industry were also concentrated inside the cities; and this made them the scenes of most of the social struggles between the classes. Ultimately the cities became the home of literature and art, and it was in them that language developed and took on refinements; they became the focus of culture, of its growth, its borrowings, and its power to influence others, at a time when in the country districts archaic conditions of life were largely persistent. Everywhere there was opposition between town and country: its severity might vary, but it could never be wholly removed.

The Greek Polis. The Greek city had its own characteristic form of development (though analogies can be found in other parts of the world). The primitive population of Hellas had lived off pasturage, agriculture, or fishing, and had been scattered over the hills, the plains, and the coasts in huts and villages (*dēmoi*); but the political life of every little state had its being in the strong palace of the king, which was surrounded by groups of buildings for the soldiers, courtiers, and craftsmen. This palace, which was large and well defended, could also, like the Latin *oppidum*, serve as a refuge for men and cattle in time of danger. But when the noble families destroyed the king, they demolished his palace: any portion which survived would be turned into a temple. It then became necessary for the mass of the population, under its oligarchy, to find some place—it might be the same as that which the king had chosen—to be a refuge for all in time of war. This would also be a centre for foreign and internal trade, to which merchants could come by land and

9 THE EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT CERAMICS, I

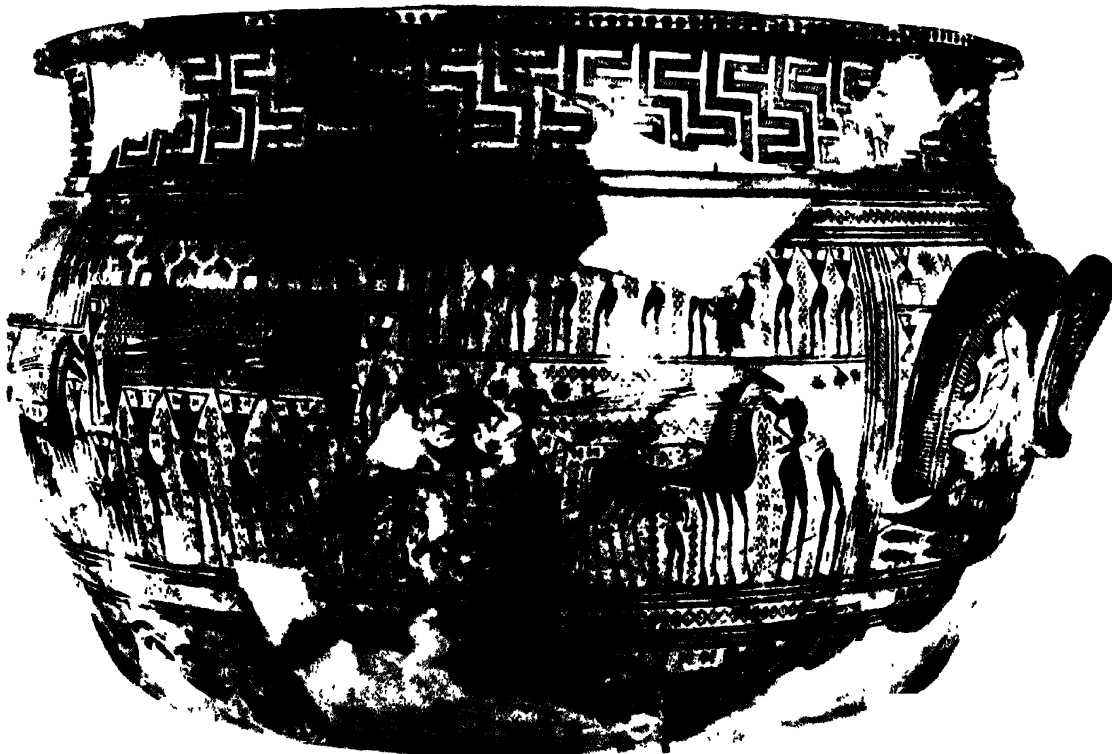
(a) *Geometric pictorial decoration on a vase. London, British Museum*

(b) *Dipylon funerary urn: the exhibition of the body and mourners' procession, middle eighth century BC. Paris, Louvre*



(a)

[B.M.]



(b)

[photo Chauseville]



12 THE EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT CERAMICS, IV

(a) *Black figure Attic vase: Heracles fighting the lion; detail showing the technique of the artist*

(b) *Panathenaic amphora: young men racing. (Rome, Vatican Museum)*

[B.F.M.]

(b)
[Alinari]



sea; and it would house the magistrates, assemblies, and law courts, with those common cults which were held in greatest honour.

The idea of the *polis* admittedly owed something to the grouping of houses round the Mycenaean palaces. But the precise form taken by the new foundations depended on the example of the regular cities which the Greeks were getting to know in Anatolia, the cities against which their wars were fought. These were first a model for the Greek colonies on the Asiatic seaboard, then for the more distant coastal settlements in the north-east and in the west, all of these being areas where the Greeks were isolated amid foreigners and enemies and had to keep themselves firmly united in large and powerful centres of habitation, ready for any turn of events.

Part of the population, it is true, might still be scattered in isolated cottages or in country villages over the city's ancient territory, or on some new land which had been acquired. Agriculture, pasturage, and fishing could more conveniently be carried on in this way, and some people might be dispersed deliberately, perhaps on colonial ventures. But it was in the *polis* that politics, administration, law, and religion were centred. Later even more families were drawn in from the territory outside. The nobles could live in greater splendour in the city than was possible on their country estates; the traders wanted to be near the ports and markets; and the artisans and unemployed came in search of work. So once it had become the centre of attraction to all the population, and was housing the majority of citizens as well as being the heart of the state's existence, it gave its name of *polis* to the whole state whose activities were summarized within its walls.

The wealth of the *polis* in men and money, and the efficiency of its organization, made it a nucleus round which a country might unite. Smaller city-states in the neighbourhood, of their own accord or after conquest, would become absorbed politically, or even move their people bodily inside the larger centre (*synoecismus*). Conquered peoples sometimes received the citizenship of the *polis* where they made their homes or to which they resorted for the exercise of civil rights. But in other cases they were reduced to the status of subjects. They might retain their freedom but lack full citizenship, or they might be serfs compelled to work, on some kind of forced *métayage*, the lands their overlords had seized.

Between two or more adjacent *poleis* there was not always a state of war or struggle for hegemony. Often federal states were created with the precedent of the old sacred federations in mind.

The *poleis* or city-states were normally of small territorial dimensions, so that all the inhabitants could easily congregate in the centre, following the irresistible urge which impels all Greeks to take a concrete part in the exercise of their citizen rights. The city was normally a closed political organism, recognizing only the rights of its own members. But although foreigners could not acquire these rights, they were allowed temporary residence as time went on, if a citizen (*prostates*) took responsibility for them; and on

payment of an appropriate tax they might even be allowed a permanent home.

But these institutions concerning foreigners do not seem to be those which obtained in archaic times: they can, however, be detected in the colonies where it was normal practice to admit immigrants of various origins. Later on, one remembers how Solon conceived the idea of bringing to Athens as citizens the exiles of other states, and also metics who would take up their homes in the country and work there; Cleisthenes too granted citizenship to many foreigners domiciled in Attica. Even more characteristic, some decades after this period, were the actions of Gelon of Syracuse, who transplanted people from other Siceliote cities and made them Syracusans.

The *polis* was composed of all the free inhabitants of its territory, who contributed to its defence and provided their own weapons. The *politai* or citizens ruled the state directly, without any delegation of powers, since they could and did come together in the popular assemblies and decide on the spot by speech and vote the issues of domestic and foreign policy. They could choose some of their number as magistrates and give them instructions; they could control their magistrates' actions and bring them to book if necessary; they could set up smaller assemblies to give the magistrates advice; and they could modify the laws. The counterpart of this full recognition of the citizens' right to govern was that individuals had to obey such laws as were laid down by the majority and accept the duty of defending the city with arms and money.

This civil organization was the main obstacle to the formation of larger political units in the Greek world. For except when (as in Attica) a whole region came together voluntarily into a single *polis*, the extension of one city's power meant the extinction by force of the sovereign power of the others (see Part II.).

3. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

a. *Property and Ownership in the Ancient World*

It may be useful to preface this section by saying that in our view both history and ethnography rule out the doctrine that in origin all property was collective, and also the doctrine that it was all individual. At all times and in all places two or more principal types of property must have existed simultaneously, the property of the king, the family, the individual, and the community.

In Egypt there existed the ancient, and to some extent self-contradictory, conception that the king had a divine mission to administer the country as his personal possession. Everything, the land, employment, trade, and movable goods were at least in theory his, but this formula got modified in practice. Eventually in fact some measure of personal ownership was recognized, and we must examine some of the more important causes of this

development. The great dignitaries and royal officers, together with the king's relations, favourites, and friends, had received presents from him, and to land acquired in this way they would add other areas on which they had been able to lay their hands. Even greater were the gifts made to temples and priests, who had collected very large estates in this way and had engaged bands of slaves and artisans to work them, independently of the king and with immunity from taxation. Moreover, in addition to state commerce, private trade had started with foreigners, especially in the Delta, and new units of movable property had come into being. Other such property had originated in gifts made to mercenaries, and even in the essential needs of peasant life. The peasants might work lands for the state and provide their *corvées*, but they came in the end to possess animals, agricultural implements, and produce of their own. Finally from the eighth century onwards Greek merchants were allowed to found trading-stations, especially at Naucratis; and they had to be allowed to live according to their own laws, including the laws governing private property.

The old customs about property were still accepted in our period by the various overlords of Mesopotamia, and therefore by the Assyrians; indeed there was at times an actual reversion to the past. So we find landed property privately owned by both individuals and families, and estates being freely broken up. The state contented itself with keeping a watchful eye and making a land-register. There was also private property of a movable kind.

On the other hand there were also public or state properties, largely confiscated from foreign enemies. They were often distributed as private lots to men who had rendered service to the state, the origin of military colonies. Other properties belonged collectively to groups of families or to tribes. The sovereign possessed very large territorial domains and vast movable wealth, which made him the greatest capitalist in the empire. The temples too had land and treasures, which enabled them to maintain companies of workmen, although labour was also often hired by private persons. Finally we should notice the part played in commerce by groups of foreign merchants, especially Greeks and Arameans. It was partly this that brought more and more Aramean invaders into Mesopotamia.

The Persian kings, too, were owners of vast properties: palaces in several capitals, estates and gardens ('paradises'), slaves, presents, and revenues from taxes, from all of which they built exceptionally large hoards of treasure. But landed and movable wealth, often of colossal size, was also in the possession of temples, of the king's friends and relations, and in general of noblemen, who were employed as officials and satraps, or who served as cavalry commanders in the army. Then there were the Iranian and non-Iranian farmers, professional men, and artisans, men of moderate means whose standard of living was unchanged from that obtaining under earlier empires in this enormous area. Later, as a result of the peripheral wars, the king came to dispose of new land confiscated from defeated peoples, who were often

transplanted away from their homes. On these lands, mainly in Egypt and Asia Minor, he was able to found military colonies.

At the close of the Mycenaean Age, and in the archaic period which followed, Greece partly retained and partly improved the methods of earlier ages. The large Minoan houses in Crete, often containing twenty rooms, had been suited to huge families, of almost patriarchal kind, while the smaller houses of the Mycenaean Age seem to betoken less sizeable family units.

Archaeology and the Homeric poems tell us of the financial power of the latest kings, when their pomp and the riches of their palaces and tombs were on the wane. We also hear of the mounting wealth of the nobles who despoiled these kings and took their places. Yet none of the evidence disproves the ownership of all kinds of property by the lower classes. Landed property, including livestock and produce, must normally have belonged to the family: single individuals could dispose freely only of goods they had acquired in war, piracy, or trade. In militarist countries like Sparta every family had, so far as possible, to pass on its lot (*kleros*) intact without division. But with these exceptions properties could be divided or even alienated. Non-citizens could not own land unless with explicit leave from the state. A few public properties still existed, like the mining district of Laurium belonging to the Attic tyrants and then to Athens.²⁰ In addition there was the continual passage into private hands of territory confiscated from the enemy: some went to individual members of the victorious state, other plots were left to citizens of the defeated city (in cases where they were not reduced to serfdom).

The absolute ownership of real estate was conditioned by regulations, which were constantly being improved, to meet the rights of neighbours. These affected new buildings, excavations, planting of trees, fixing of boundaries, payment of tolls, use of wells, flow of water-courses, and similar matters.

The supposed traces of collective property present a special problem. The example generally given is that of the Cnidian colonists who settled at Lipara about 580 B.C. The conditions, however, were practically military in character, of the kind which must necessarily attend the early phases of colonization when a party of entirely male emigrants settle in a country after having been engaged together for a long time in maritime expeditions and in conquest. The islands of the Lipara archipelago have very little cultivable land, and the Cnidian settlers had no immediate chance of raising families by marriage with native women. Compelled to make a living from fishing and piracy, and at the same time to engage in continuous war with the Etruscan pirates, they had no alternative in the early stages to a complete break with tradition and the organization of a collective system of property. So they cultivated in common the small available land on the largest island, and continued to take their meals at one table. Later they developed ordinary family life, and parcelled out the land in individual lots, first on the largest island, and then

on the others, which had not been inhabited hitherto. Economic inequality, however, would have been fatal in a country which could not be expanded; so they repeated the process of division at intervals, making the lots smaller as the population grew.

Property questions affecting Rome are postponed to the next period, when our evidence becomes reasonably adequate.

Our knowledge of property rights and economic life in Early and Late Vedic India is remarkably scanty, and almost exclusively concerns landed property. Under Late Vedic legislation ownership of land could be attested by documents, witnesses, or simple possession. It appears that family ownership of homestead and arable lands was the rule, probably along with communal ownership of pastures. The Indian family in the widest sense, the *gens*, had a rock-like solidarity, which is reflected in its undivided ownership of land. The legal representative of this property was the *pater familias*. His powers were limited only by the inevitable dispersion of a *gens* which became too large, requiring the formation of new estates. Thus the *Rigveda* mentions division of *daya* (paternal wealth) and there are repeated instances in Late Vedic literature of patrimonies being divided before the father's death (e.g., *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, III, i, 9, 4), but they appear to have concerned movable property rather than land. From this division before death was derived the institution of inheritance, though it is still lacking in form and definition. Women were in any event excluded from division and inheritance: neither women nor *śūdra* could hold property on any terms.

We have already described the way in which the Indian monarchy came into being, and it implies that there can be no trace in this period of royal ownership of state land. Indeed there is a famous anecdote (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 21, 8; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 7, 1, 15) of King Visvakarman offering the earth (presumably some estates) to his priest; and the earth 'refused to be given away'; meaning (one imagines) that the donation was a breach of the law. It is likely that the 'gifts' of estates made by ancient Indian kings to their followers concerned the rents and taxation derivable from the land, rather than its outright possession. Nevertheless among royal privileges was included the title to treasure without an owner which might be found on the state's territory.

Economic life was still very primitive, being based on the village, which was a fully self-contained unit and the smallest component part of the state. A noticeable feature is that artisans in the village received a fixed sum from the peasants as a retainer to make them stay in the village; individual jobs were paid for in addition. Some trace of industrial organization can be found as early as the Vedic texts, but our evidence about Indian guilds refers to a later period.

In Chou China land was everything, the basis of all power, wealth, and social position. In theory all land belonged to the king. The earliest Chou rulers divided the soil between members of their family and supporters. So

by a kind of delegation all feudatories became owners of their land and could distribute it in their turn. Gifts of land by kings and feudal chiefs gave rise to two types of property—the 'state' (*kuo*) of the feudal chief, and the 'estate' (*i* or *t'ien*) of the individual noble. In both cases the peasant (*chung*) had no legal right of any kind over the soil he tilled, and soon became much like a serf: his person, that is to say, was an integral part of the estate. The proprietor, whose holding was a conditional one, owned the land and those who tilled it, but was also responsible for any offence committed within his area. If he resided at court or was for some other reason an absentee, he administered the land through a bailiff chosen by and responsible to himself.²¹

Later theorists like Mencius describe in detail an ideal system of ancient land tenure (*ching*), under which the country was divided into square sections, each further subdivided in chessboard pattern into nine equal parts. Eight of these parts were allotted to the same number of families to cultivate. The ninth part, in the centre (*kung t'ien*), was cultivated by the eight families in common; and its produce constituted the rent due to the feudal owner, that is to the state. Of this system epigraphy and the earliest literature have no knowledge. It must have been largely an arbitrary construction made by Confucian philosophers, although it seems also to preserve a vague memory of the communal cultivation which was in force in the earliest days of Chinese civilization. It did not imply permanent cultivation of any particular plots: it was carried out by groups of peasants who set fire to the undergrowth to recover pieces of land, worked them for four or five years, and then abandoned them once they were exhausted. This was eminently a co-operative type of working: later, however, the custom was lost, although the theorists may have preserved some record of it. Whatever the truth, the *ching* theory had great significance during all the attempts at pseudo-reform (or return to antiquity) during later centuries.

In the feudal society of the Chou period all economic life was in the last analysis (there being no urban life) based on the serf-cultivator, who had practically no rights, and through him on the pyramid of small and large feudatories living on the produce of the land. Of artisans we know practically nothing. They lived in close contact with the nobility near their seats (i.e. in the towns); we cannot tell whether the work they did for the aristocracy was remunerated at piece-rates or by a regular maintenance. The units of exchange were shells (*kauri*), and to some extent objects of bronze. There was no metal coinage, and therefore there is no question of loans, interest, or the like: such things are not mentioned in the sources.

Organization of Labour; Economic and Social Differences The theories of government current in some countries led to state organization of labour. In Egypt, for example, the Pharaoh was regarded as lord of the land and its inhabitants; and while his normal revenues were ensured by his secular and religious administration, he also had to take it on himself to guarantee

employment and means of existence to all his subjects. Hence censuses of the people, of the land, and of livestock; registration of gifts and sales for inheritance purposes: meticulous organization of agricultural work and artisan production; and prescription of corvées for the indispensable maintenance of public works—dykes, canals, roads, conveyances—and for the construction and maintenance of public buildings.

At Sparta, where a handful of conquerors introduced an iron constitution to enable them to rule their subjects in security, we find another kind of state organization, which guaranteed this handful their livelihood though exempting them from agricultural, industrial, and commercial work. The way the Spartiates lived was by dividing part of the conquered territory into equal lots, one for each family of the *Homoioi* (Equals), and requiring these lots to be tilled by the former owners—now reduced to serfdom. Meanwhile the population living in the rest of the territory, those *Perioeci* who were free but deprived of political rights, provided for other needs of the state by paying tribute and serving as auxiliaries in the army.

Even under these static conditions there were always many ways in which individuals could change their standard of life and political rights, especially in a downwards direction. But in countries where state control was less tight, economic differences between the inhabitants were of course even easier and commoner. This was true of Assyria, where control of labour by the king and the priests was much less marked than in Egypt. It is true that the state often fixed wages and prices, provided for regular corvées, and legislated on the relations between landlords and tenants, and on matters related to the hiring of boats and other transport. But there were many other factors favouring the creation of fortunes which were not dependent on landed property and were therefore more subject to fluctuations in size. Trade was on the increase, especially in the hands of foreigners such as Arameans and Greeks; loans at interest were becoming common, though some rates were controlled (for instance those on loans to the poor and the sick); weighed metal, including lead, was being used to make transactions easier, and the relative values of such metals were being realistically laid down. There were thus many new causes which could not but lead to economic inequalities, quite apart from those always associated with landed property—partition, multiple inheritance, destruction by war and cataclysm, and so on.

The Phoenician economy was built on a threefold system, trade by sea and caravan, foundation of trading-posts, mining districts, and colonies, and the organization of industrial craftsmen (though landed property also played its part). Movable property and liquid wealth thus developed early in their history, and economic inequality became natural. Phoenician talents were more commercial than artistic, and their manufactured goods are largely imitated.

For Greece after the Mycenaean period we can give a more detailed account of economic and social developments. On the one hand agrarian

conditions were commonly leading to pauperism as the population increased. In some areas properties were ground down to insignificant size by being divided among the growing number of descendants; in others, where succession was limited to the first-born, there would be the problem of the disinherited younger sons. Later the phenomenon was aggravated by the struggle between monarchies and aristocracies, the former supported by the common people. On the other hand commerce, piracy, and artisan production were providing new means of acquiring a livelihood and even a large fortune. There was early development of an export trade in artistic goods to Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Syrian coast, Egypt, south Italy, Sicily, and as far as the smaller islands in the south of the western Mediterranean. In the early days colonization had allowed the disinherited to create a new life for themselves, in which they once more became landowners with holdings of uniform size. But the land became inadequate as lots got divided again and new immigrants began to arrive. There was inequality once more, and the newcomers had to be content with land which was too small and unproductive. Later they might be forced to give up landowning entirely and put up with earning a wage for working the land of another or exploring other means of existence. One may remember Hesiod's advice to the insolvent peasant, to take to a life on the sea.

So we gradually find new legal forms to deal with loans, in goods or precious metal, taken up by men who wanted capital to expand their output: mortgages and 'redemption sales' on real estate, the conditions being regular payment of interest and amortization, defaulters being liable to distraint on their property and even seizure of their persons. Solon's legislation at Athens was a reaction against measures which were too injurious to the liberty of individuals or which threatened to remove from them the minimum resources needed to sustain life. Appointed in 594-3 as a peacemaker, Solon by his *Seisachtheia* (Shaking off Burdens) cancelled all debts which seemed outrageous, together with the pledges into which debtors had entered to secure their loans; and he also tried to bring back debtors who had become bankrupt and had been sold as slaves outside Attica. The whole organization of loans was of course tidied up and made much easier after the introduction of coinage, since citizens with accumulated wealth could now form private banking houses. Interest rates were very varied: from the fifth century the norm was 12 per cent on loans for trade by land and 30 per cent for trade by sea; but no actual maximum was fixed.

At an earlier period the administration of royal and temple treasuries had provided a primitive system of banking. Herodotus (II, 150) says that Ashurbanipal in the seventh century kept his vast treasures hidden in underground vaults at Nineveh. Treasures were also kept by temples in the Assyrian, neo-Babylonian, and Hebrew kingdoms, and private resources could be deposited in their vaults as need arose, the depositor being then able to draw on them to make loans. Proportionately smaller treasures were owned by the early

kings and later by cities in archaic Greece, who used to store them safely under divine protection in the temples. There too, as for instance in the Artemisium at Ephesus, private individuals could deposit their savings and later use them for their own transactions.

b. *The Organization of the Family*

This is not the place for a survey of the great controversies about the origin of family organization. Like the state, the family meets human needs which are primitive, profound, and independent of other circumstances, namely the needs of the individual and the needs of a collective unit. Here we need only record our conviction that theories which make the family a precondition and pattern of the state are to be rejected equally with those which suppose the state to have created the family.

The Vedic family was strictly patriarchal and monogamous, and these two factors are fundamental in the Aryan family of India to this day. The *patria potestas* was complete, and, at least in origin, unlimited, passing to the eldest son on the death of a father. The family remained undivided until it reached really large proportions, comparable with those of a *gens*. It was a unit for religious purposes, and domestic ritual was extremely complex and highly developed: about the end of this period it was codified in the *Gṛhyasūtras*. As was shown earlier, the normal state of affairs was the 'joint family', presided over and represented by its oldest male married member. When a son left his family, a new family came into being, a creation symbolized by the kindling of a new domestic fire.

On the other hand the family of Dravidian India, though documentary evidence about it is late, seems originally to have been to some extent at least matriarchal, and this is reflected in the typically southern cult of the Great Mother.²² In parts of the south polyandry was in force, and even in our own time it has survived in certain districts on the Malabar coast.

The Chinese family was always the core and basic unit of Chinese society. Indeed it was its model, for the Confucian scholars maintained that the state should be ruled like a great family, with the emperor as its father. Its constitution was not unlike that of the Aryan family. The matriarchal features of the Shang family have disappeared or been absorbed so that the family of the Chou period was strongly patriarchal, in a form which lasted down to the reforms introduced by the Communist régime. The father was an absolute master, with the power even of life and death over his sons, limited in practice by the necessity of obtaining the emperor's consent before a son was put to death. The mother's position was correspondingly influential second only to that of the father, her authority over daughters-in-law and marriageable daughters being absolute. Filial piety (*hsiao*) always remained the strongest link in Chinese society, and was matched by brotherly loyalty. These two bonds implied the duty of mutual

assistance, including the blood vendetta, which was widely practised in China. On the other hand the unbreakable cohesion of the Chinese family bred the institution of its collective responsibility for offences by one of its members.²³

Monogamy was the general practice, but concubinage grew up before long and was made regular and legal at an early date. The favourite concubine obtained a position little short of becoming a secondary wife. Sometimes a father would make a concubine's son his heir to the detriment of a son born to his wife, but these were exceptional cases proving the rule that sons of a regular marriage took precedence. In any case maternal authority always belonged to the regular wife only.

In Egypt polygamy and concubinage were allowed to a man, but a woman according to tradition could have only one husband. She had a privileged position as mistress of the house, and as head of the family during widowhood. There is a separate problem whether marriages between brother and sister occurred outside the Pharaonic family, where they were modelled on the myth of Isis and Osiris: the texts which suggest that it was common practice are perhaps to be understood metaphorically. The country's wealth combined with the state's controlled system of labour to free families from the cruellest consequences of poverty, namely exposure of children and the exclusive rights of the first-born. Births had to be scrupulously registered in order that adequate means of maintenance could be provided. It is true that infant mortality must have been heavy in the poor conditions of sanitation.

Assyria was a contrast. There the position of women went down in comparison with the advance made earlier by the Babylonians. A woman had an inferior status at law, and only in later times could she make contracts, even then being unable to control loans on her own account. She had to put up with her husband having other wives and concubines, and it was easy for him to put her away. If she became a widow, she was normally compelled to re-marry with a relation of her husband.

The Hebrews had a very lofty conception of the family, for in this part of social life, as in others, they sought to give practical application to their religious ideas. Marriage was the appropriate means of propagating the human race because there was a precise divine ordinance to that effect; and it was on the family that the Chosen People was founded and from which, as an essential institution, its power was derived.

When a family was established there was a religious ceremony to consecrate its permanence; and various laws laid down the degrees within which marriages were permitted, the duties of spouses, and other rules affecting family rights. In relation to her husband the wife was almost a slave, but it was his duty to show her affection. Polygamy was practised, but unions with foreigners were forbidden, though after a time mixed marriages became common. A characteristic Hebrew practice (one not unparalleled elsewhere)

was Levirate, under which, if a man died without sons, his brother or other near relative married his widow. Wives had no right of inheritance; and in general the same applied to daughters if there was male issue. Divorce could not be initiated by wives, but for husbands it was relatively easy, though some justification was necessary and it entailed restriction of the dowry. Adultery, sexual perversion, and prostitution were firmly prohibited and punished by heavy penalties, but certain contraceptive methods were allowed within limits.

Children were regarded as a gift from God, and a large family was a sign of blessing from heaven: infanticide, except for sacrifices to Baal, and also exposures of children, so common among other peoples, were unknown. Children were carefully educated, and were taught to show respect for their parents, both father and mother, a fact which shows that the woman who became a mother was held in great honour. The first-born received a double inheritance; and the sons of concubines enjoyed certain rights.

In Persia, as in India and generally among Indo-European peoples, the family was closely knit, and their religion made of marriage an institution designed to secure the permanence of the race. Genealogies were handed down, and various grades of relationship were classified, for instance at times of mourning. All Persians longed for children, and there were precise rules about inheritance, adoption, and guardians. Polygamy and marriage between close relatives occurred, but were probably the result of foreign influence.

Much the same is true of the Greek family in the archaic period, which is illustrated by Greek epic. We should take the polygamy of Priam, the marriage of Zeus and Hera, the marriages between the sons and daughters of Aeolus, and similar stories to be evidence of non-Greek usages. The normal practice was monogamy, although concubinage was tolerated. Wives were acquired by purchase; yet the woman of good family was not shut up with the female servants in the gynaeceum, but took part with her husband in ceremonies and looked after the management of the household during his long and frequent absences. This usage survived in Asiatic Greece, as we know from Simonides and other writers; but in the rest of Greece local customs grew up, the general tendency being to require women to live more segregated lives. A special type of family was imposed on the Spartiates by their exclusively military organization. Conjugal life among young married persons was reduced to a minimum, and only one meal was taken at home. Indeed wives were actually chosen in the dark²⁴ if our source is correct, and sons once weaned were taken from their parents and brought up by the state.

We need not go into the legal discussions, largely arbitrary and theoretical, about the original structure of the Roman family. The form was undoubtedly patriarchal, the *pater familias* having power not only over his wife and children but also over the families of his sons. On his death, however, the power got divided, since a number of independent families had become established;

yet these could continue to associate closely and carry on the father's line. A man without sons could adopt one and make him his heir. But if he died without having done so, and without a will, his property passed to his near relatives, and in default to the *gens*.

c. *Slavery*

Slavery is certainly not a general phenomenon of all the ancient world and of that world alone.²⁵ It cannot be shown to have extended to all ancient peoples, and in some places it continued after ancient times. Among the various peoples it may have arisen for a number of reasons, which need not always have operated together. The most usual cause was undoubtedly war, when enemies surrendered or were made prisoner, as individuals or in large groups, and were made slaves as an alternative to death. Ransom, however, was often permitted, or the less inhuman status of serfdom could replace that of outright slavery. Akin to this was the enslavement of foreigners captured by pirates and sold as human merchandise capable of providing labour; or a conquered people might deliver men to their conquerors as a war indemnity. Much less common was the enslavement of a faction by its victorious compatriots; when it does happen, it means that the political struggle has become so bitter that instead of being able to retire into exile the defeated party have to stay in the country, where they are deprived of their liberty and put to forced labour. In many countries those guilty of grave crimes, like adultery, murder, or theft, might lose their liberty and be abandoned to the will of the injured party. In other cases an insolvent debtor might be compelled to work for his creditor until he paid off the debt; or he might have to stay for ever as a serf on the land which he once owned, and have the obligation of delivering an agreed part of the produce to the new proprietor.

About slavery in Egypt we are not well informed. Slaves there must have been almost exclusively prisoners-of-war, tribute paid by subject peoples, or men sold by pirates. It is improbable that the country had slaves of Egyptian origin; and even if a name looks Egyptian it may be a new name given after the slave arrived. Since the main owner was the Pharaoh, slaves usually worked in the palace, or as scribes, especially to deal with foreign languages, or as labourers in the quarries, mines, and other royal possessions. It was not uncommon, however, for the Pharaoh to leave part of the captives as booty to his guards or as a present to high dignitaries. We hear of slaves running away and being recaptured, but we are also told about enfranchisement and of ex-slaves being taken into the army as mercenaries.

In Assyria slavery was very harsh and generally originated from captures made in war. The Phoenicians, as we know from the story of the kidnapping of Eumaeus in the *Odyssey*, were notorious as pirates, who captured free men and sold them.

Although slaves were included in the scope of the Hebrew family, they were never numerous and were extremely well treated. They were usually bankrupt debtors, but whatever the cause of their slavery they regained freedom after seven or fifty years. Even if foreigners became slaves, by right of war perhaps or by purchase, they still enjoyed certain safeguards: for instance they must not be put to death or mutilated, and they must have rest on the Sabbath. There were also paid servitors, with a higher status than that of slaves, including the special class of foreign serving-men, who might or might not be admitted, without full rights, to the Hebrew tribes.

Herodotus (VI, 137) claims that slavery was once unknown in the Greek cities. Yet it certainly spread to Greece in time, and there was a period when Greeks treated their slaves with some barbarity.

In the Homeric poems slaves taken in war or sold by pirates are shown, together with their children, as faithful allies of their patron, who treats them kindly inside his patriarchal domain. Nor do they seem to have been numerous, although in the fourth *Iliad* we hear already of small craftsmen in the household and a certain number of weaving women directed by a female superintendent. In the seventh and sixth centuries the numbers of slaves were continually increasing, first at Asiatic Greek cities like Chios and Miletus (where Hipponax speaks of Phrygian slaves), and then on the mainland, especially at Corinth and Athens. We are told that Cleisthenes of Athens gave citizenship to a number of ex-slaves.

But besides these individual slaves and the gangs employed by industrialists there were whole populations reduced to serfdom on the land: the Helots serving the Laconian state, the Penestai in Thessaly, the Mnoiti in Crete, and other classes attested at Syracuse and in Etruria. As we have already said, the treatment of slaves in Greece got gradually harsher, despite the general rise in moral standards. The difference recognized between Greek and barbarian was becoming sharper. Physical work was increasingly looked down on, and the number of slaves exposed for sale in the markets was growing. Yet for these very reasons, at any rate in the more civilized parts of Greece, it seemed more and more unthinkable that Greeks should be reduced to slavery. One consequence was that enslavement for debt came to be forbidden, Solon's laws being the first example: others were the ease with which prisoners-of-war could be ransomed, and the severity with which attempts to kidnap free-born Greeks were punished.

Slavery certainly came to the Italic world, as will be explained in Part II.

From the outset slavery was an integral part of the feudal Chou society in China. It has two origins, prisoners-of-war and punishment.²⁶ Gifts of slaves (normally not individuals but whole families) are repeatedly mentioned in our texts, although apparently only one document (a vase inscription of about 900 BC) mentions a purchase and sale of slaves.

d. *Castes and Societies*

The most important feature of the Indian social system is caste. Its origin is not yet entirely clear; according to most scholars it may have resulted from the racial difference between the ruling Aryan invaders and the defeated Dasyu over whom they ruled: the use of the Sanskrit word for 'colour' (*varṇa*) to mean 'caste' indicates an origin of this kind.²⁷ Development was naturally very slow and gradual, the situation at the outset being a very long way from what later became the rigid caste system. According to the theory of Late Vedic texts, the Brahmans were born free from the Creator's head, the *kṣattriya* from his chest, the *vaiśya* from his thighs, and the *śūdra* from his feet. In its essential lines this theory is already found, with some difference in mental attitude, in a late *Rigveda* hymn, the *Purusasukta* (*Rigveda*, X, 90), but this is an isolated piece of evidence. In the Early Vedic period Aryan society seems not to have been divided into castes, but into social classes of a mainly professional, but not hereditary, nature. The continual state of war against the non-Aryan natives, one may suppose, caused the formation of a class of professional warriors, while the rest of the Aryan population, feeling themselves secure behind this bulwark, abandoned the use of arms and confined themselves to agriculture and artisan production. This would account for the *kṣattriya* and *vaiśya*. As for the Brahmans, their caste came into being as a direct consequence of the growing complication of ritual. In early times ritual was simple enough to be performed personally by the head of a family or by the prince. But it gradually became so involved that it required the employment of a specialist, i.e. of a professional priest. The *śūdra* in the *Rigveda* period seem to have been aboriginal prisoners, or the inhabitants of whole non-Aryan villages compelled to recognize the sovereignty of the conquerors.

Gradually these social classes, which in origin were fluid and open, with complete freedom of relations with each other, began to crystallize in response to a new spirit. This was probably the non-Aryan spirit, with which the Aryan society in its new Indian home was all the time becoming insensibly pervaded. In the Late Vedic period *varṇa* definitely meant 'caste'. The system tended to grow and to take on complications when sub-castes and mixed groups came into being, especially among the *vaiśya*. In theory this was entirely due to mixed marriages, though it should be noted that in this period marriage between a higher-caste man and a lower-caste woman (*anuloma*) was still permitted, where one between a lower-caste man and a higher-caste woman (*pratiloma*) was not. But in practice marriage was only one of the factors which contributed to this phenomenon: perhaps more important was the exclusive rigid attitude adopted by groups who followed defined professions and trades. In later times *conubium* between different castes tends to be excluded altogether, although at the same time the strictest rules of exogamy were being laid down. At the end of this process of development a man may

only marry a woman of his own caste, but she must belong to a different *gens* (*gotra*). The rights and duties of each caste, especially from the point of view of ritual, were accurately and minutely described in the *Brāhmaṇas*. A functional division became thus a hierarchic division, with the *vaiśya* superior to the *śūdra* and the *brāhmaṇa* and *kṣattriya* to the *vaiśya*. The two top castes were approximately on equal terms, the *kṣattriya* being superior in political matters and the Brahman in religious. But even then the castes had not become completely rigid; and their principal characteristics, heredity, and the prohibitions on members of different classes intermarrying or inter-dining had not yet been firmly established. This process reached its conclusion, however, in the time of the *Upaniṣads*, which saw a progressive worsening in the conditions of the *vaiśya* and *śūdra*. In the *Gṛhyasūtras* the caste system receives detailed codification. A young man takes on the full rights and duties of his caste at a ceremony of initiation (*upanayana*), held at different ages for the different castes, but confined to members of the first three. In it they receive their second or spiritual birth (thus becoming twice-born, *dvija*), together with the exclusive right to study the *Veda*. The outward sign of this initiation is the ritual thread (*yajñopavīta*), which the *dvija* (normally only the Brahman) carries on his shoulder and across his chest for the rest of his life. The system was made completely rigid when the theory of untouchability was introduced—and symptoms of it can be seen at the end of this period. Under this theory contact with a man who by birth or violation of his duties is excluded from the system of caste causes a grave pollution. In the same way, at the end of this period caste differentiation makes itself apparent in the criminal and civil law, where penalties, capacity to act as a witness, and the like are varied from caste to caste.

In Egypt caste divisions, though less rigid than in India, were the natural result of a static organization, in which living standards, professions, and technical skills were handed down from father to son. Herodotus (II, 164) lists seven castes—priests, soldiers, peasants, swineherds or shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and pilots; and to these must be added the artisans.

Members of the priestly class had to undergo special training in the king's palaces and in the temples, in each of which the senior post was that of prophet or chief priest, a post reserved for men of the highest family. Of the soldiers we shall speak in a moment, but it may be said at once that officer posts, apart from those held by foreign captains of mercenaries, were confined to certain families, that the condition of entry was an appropriate course of training, and that their holders were rewarded with a share in the booty, and with decorations, lands, and slaves. Peasants and shepherds, whose life is described variously in our documents as idyllic or as on the verge of ruin, would possess a cottage with a small garden and some livestock; but they were in fact tied to the land, the fortunes of which they would follow with passivity, without the possibility that any of them would escape their lot. They were also subjected to *corvées* and to the risk of abnormal requisitions.

The artisans who worked in the palace, in the temples, and on their own account, were reasonably sure of their food and clothing, and some of them could even become prosperous, although in certain circumstances their conditions could be so hard as to prompt attempts at revolt. The scribes led a more comfortable existence and were exempt from *corvées*; their work was of an administrative kind, which required the use of their brains more than of their hands, and included accounting, writing, editing, and translating.

Hebrew society had no very clear class divisions because the tenor of its life was simple, the prevailing occupations being pasturage and agriculture with very little development of commerce. Respect for one's neighbour—his person, his family, and his property—was keenly felt, and it was one's strict duty to pay any wage or price which had been agreed. Slander and any form of attack on another's honour, together with the denunciation of one's neighbour in times of persecution, were grave offences. The keen sense of national solidarity meant that one must give help to the needy, who were part of one's own people.

In the earliest Greek periods very particular importance attached to the private and personal associations called *phratries* and tribes.²⁸ To fill the gap left by the state its subjects would organize themselves into societies for mutual assistance in peace and war. The more closely knit of these societies were called *Hetairiai* (companies of friends) or *phratries* (companies of brothers), while the union between several *phratries* was the origin of a tribe or *phyle*. These private societies were hereditary, with their own cults and their own magistrates. In time of peace they looked after the administration of justice to see that verdicts were carried out, and dealt with matters such as the distribution of tax burdens: in war they formed units in which their members served. To remain outside the *phratries* and tribes by now meant that a man was isolated and undefended and that his life was intolerable; so eventually these societies comprised the whole population. At this point the state recognized their importance, and made them permanent and compulsory, using them as administrative units in civil life, and also for tribute collection, military levies, and regimental divisions in the field.²⁹

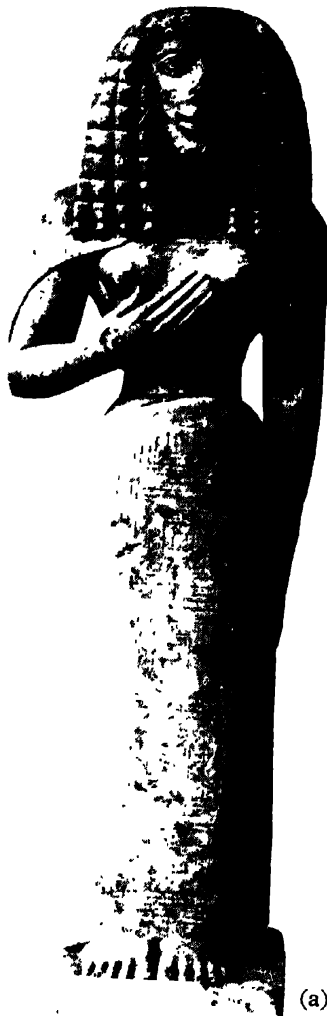
The caste system of the Spartan state also deserves a mention. The full citizens of *Homoioi* (Equals), who possessed lots, were differentiated from other groups whose status was inferior economically and therefore also politically. These included the *Hypomeiones* (Inferiors), the *Neodamodeis* (new citizens), and the *Perioeci*, these last being the free inhabitants of certain conquered districts, with no political rights.

Religious societies will be dealt with in their proper context.

In Roman history the division into patricians and plebeians is an example of caste.³⁰ In the writer's view the difference between the two was initially similar to that between the Spartiates and *Perioeci*. The patricians must have been the families of the ruling *oppidum*, *Roma Quadrata*, from which

13 ARCHAIC SCULPTURE, I

- (a) 'La Dame d'Auxerre', Cretan style archaic statuette, second half of the seventh century BC (0.65 m.) Paris, Louvre
- (b) Statue of Hera from the temple of Hera at Samos, sixth century BC (1.92 m.). Paris, Louvre



(a)

[photo Chuzeville]



(b)

[photo Chuzeville]

14 ARCHAIC SCULPTURE, II

*Torso of a young man from
Leontini, Sicily, sixth cen-
tury BC*



[von Matt

the *patres* forming the senate were derived, having originally been chosen counsellors of the king; the plebeians were the families of the villages and surrounding country, over which the *oppidum* ruled. But later on, when inequalities of wealth developed, only the richer families remained patrician. Then, in the pride which their wealth had brought them, they began to talk of their ancestors and family trees, to assume 'gentile' names, and to adopt traditions, customs, and cults which distinguished them from the other families. They held assemblies of their *gentiles*, and were followed by trains of plebeian supporters, who were ready to obey them (*cluere*) as their 'clients'. At this stage to be a patrician meant not only to belong to the ruling group, which reserved to itself the principal political rights, but also to be one of the richest and most powerful citizens.

The thirty *curiae* and the three Roman tribes did not, in our view, originate in a way similar to that in which the ancient phratries and personal tribes in Greece took shape. They were a relatively late institution, which resulted from a single act like that which created the later territorial (or state) Greek tribes, being based on the topographical divisions of the Roman city, which by now united the several primitive villages in a single habitation.

e. *A Note on Games*

Even the most primitive peoples knew many kinds of games and competitions: athletic or dramatic or pure pastimes; games of skill or thinking or chance; or simply children's play. A curious popular etymology of classical antiquity attributed *ludi* (games) to the Lydians; but they are clearly customs which were common to all peoples at all times and required no unique origin. Athletic games reached their highest form of expression in Greece, where the writer of the *Iliad* assumed that the heroes would not hesitate to compete in Patroclus' funeral games. The most famous personages of Greece, including its colonial world, were proud to take part in the panhellenic games, which took place every four years and where the victors received semi-divine honours; and the whole education of the Spartans was founded on athleticism of a militarist kind. The Etruscan games, in part at least, were modelled on the Greek; and during the Etruscan domination of Rome the Romans too copied the custom. Games, of one new type after another, were henceforth their passion; games to propitiate the gods or render thanks, games at funerals or the circus or at gladiatorial shows, games accompanied by drama or music, or any other kind.

In every part of the classical period children's and adults' games were developed. For these the continuous mass of literary evidence is supplemented by pictorial representations.

4. INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

a. *Treatment and Assimilation of Conquered Peoples*

On the treatment of conquered people in Vedic India we have no direct evidence. It seems generally that their property and way of life were not greatly upset, their only obligation being the payment of tribute (*bali*) to their conqueror. In the long run they were absorbed into the social system of these conquerors as inferior beings, that is to say as *śūdra* (or sometimes *vaiśya*). The most extreme case was when a defeated enemy was made a *dāsa* (fem. *dāsi*) or servant for life: such people were practically slaves, but it was always household slavery, very mild in both theory and practice. At the end of this period domestic slaves apparently became hereditary.

The treatment of conquered peoples in the everlasting wars between the feudal Chinese states grew worse as time went on. Ultimately victory was measured by the number of severed heads of one's enemy. There are examples, too, of conquered peoples being transplanted, for a peasant was increasingly becoming a rare and precious commodity.

Mesopotamia still retained countless survivals from that early stage of the city-state which had been the point of departure of the great empires. But the Assyrian kings, following the example of the rulers who preceded them, aspired to build a great political organism, in which they would be 'Kings of the four quarters', that is to say that their power would extend in every direction, from Lower to Upper Sea. Indeed they aimed at becoming outright rulers of the whole known world, a dream which in the days of the Sargonids did not any longer seem a complete impossibility. But their empire, like those before it, was like a see-saw, with periods of irresistible expansion followed by counter-thrusts and periods of stagnation; and the causes are many and obvious. Their wars of conquest were conducted with immense effort, their attacks being repeatedly pressed home. But after they had shown extreme cruelty, taking terrible vengeance on their enemies and ruthlessly destroying their property, they took no thought to follow a war with a period of pacification and reconstruction, in which victors and vanquished would co-operate. So none of their enemies, Elamites, Urartu, Chaldeans, and the rest ever let slip a favourable moment for a rebellion in which they might regain their freedom, especially after they saw the ruling race declining in numbers on account of their continuous wars. Other difficulties need only be enumerated briefly. The peoples of the mountains and steppes were repeatedly trying to invade; there was the subtle and dangerous infiltration of the Arameans; there were continual dynastic crises; the people of their empire, who were widely different in race, aspirations, and customs, had an incorrigible tendency to seek autonomy and decentralization; and apart from the Assyrian regiments the imperial army showed little firmness and cohesion. That despite everything the empire survived for so

many centuries was mainly due to the inability of its rebellious subjects to organize compact coalitions against it.

The subject peoples were now accustomed to subjection, and it was their same lack of cohesion and their inability to act together which allowed the even wider empire of the Medes and Persians to take shape. This profited from the experience of its predecessors, but it was the genius of the new Indo-European ruling race to be able to couple its ambition for universal dominion with an unusual sense of moderation, tolerance, and humanity. The same race produced the powers which tried next, the Macedonians and the Romans; and they continued and improved the methods laid down by the Persians. Although there was no attempt to press the culture of the subject peoples into a common form the Persians achieved a step forward by promoting a uniformity which came spontaneously. It resulted from their centripetal organization of taxation, law, and military service, which allowed all peoples to retain their own characteristic institutions, but encouraged them to imitate their overlords. Along with the indigenous languages Aramaic now spread widely as the common speech. As regards race, there was decided cultural significance in the fact that parties of Iranians were settled here and there among the subject peoples for purposes of defence. In religion, too, cohesion was promoted by the Persian policy of not persecuting the practices of other peoples: indeed the Great King tried, even in the religious field, to take the place of the dynasts he had deposed and to make direct contact with the cults of conquered peoples. Another unifying factor was the abolition of those internal barriers which impeded trade, with the improvement in communications which resulted from the construction of the great roads. The king maintained a number of the ancient capitals and resided at each in turn; the satrapies, which might each contain more than one racial element, were sometimes directed by local dynasts and noblemen. But more than by any other agent unity was promoted by the clear effort which was being made to ensure peace, prosperity, and justice so far as a government can bring them.

Yet though the Persian empire in its fundamental conceptions was vastly superior to its Middle Eastern predecessors it had vices and weaknesses which hastened its downfall. The levelling of culture, language, and religion came too slowly, among other things because the desert areas broke up the country and destroyed the compactness of its population. Moreover rulers and ruled were too disproportionate in their numbers. Nor was the government's financial policy free from blame. The tendency to hoard precious metals withdrew too much from circulation, and damaged trade, while the use of gold as a means of diplomacy was an easy but dangerous way of maintaining the empire's power. Finally there were the court intrigues, which often led to conspiracy or assassination.

In comparison with these Eastern empires, whose systems though imperfect were obviously being improved, the contemporary Western world was still at the earliest stage of political organization. Tribes were being split up, and

city-states were forming. There were small religious federations of little political significance, and minute hegemonies which did not normally extend beyond a single geographical area.

During the late Mycenaean period the Greeks had occupied the whole Aegaeon basin, not only the Greek mainland but the islands and the coast of Asia Minor. Tradition and archaeology show that from the first this world was divided into independent city-states. But as early as the period between the ninth and seventh centuries, when the Homeric epics were composed and took shape, some of these cities began to exercise hegemony over the adjoining regions, the smaller and weaker states around them being absorbed either by force or of their own accord.³¹ There was often an intermediate stage, attested by the *Iliad* and other traditions, and also by later survivals, in which several city-states came together in federations. Though sometimes political in origin, these were more commonly religious unions promoting the common cult of some deity, and only later became political when one or more cities gained the upper hand. The rivalries which brought about such changes are reflected in the life and foreign relations of the leagues in question.

There were probably many such leagues, but in Asiatic Greece the most famous are those of the Ionic cities around the temple of Poseidon Heliconius on the Mycale promontory and of the Doric cities around the sanctuary of Apollo Triopius at Cnidus. On the Aegean islands the main Amphictionic centre was Apollo's temple at Delos, and the Argolic cities united at the temple of Poseidon on the island of Calauria. But the three sacred leagues or Amphictionies which became most famous in the rest of Greece were those centred on the temples of Zeus at Olympia and Dodona and of Apollo at Thermopylae. The last later moved to Delphi in Phocis.

In the course of its continual struggle to secure Peloponnesian hegemony and support oligarchies against the tyrants, Sparta secured control over the Olympic games. This enabled it to create the largest federal organization known in Greece before 500 BC, the Peloponnesian League—or the alliance of 'Lacedaemonians and their allies', as it was officially called. The individual states made a close pact of federation with Sparta, under which they preserved their autonomy—in the sense that they were not garrisoned by Spartan troops—and decided their own policies, provided that these were not contrary to the policy of the league. The only common organ was a federal assembly, composed of delegates from each allied state, though there were no league magistrates. The Spartan government, supported by the governments of the most loyal among the allies, would convoke the assembly; Sparta had command of the army, which was composed of contingents from all the allies. In this way the Lacedaemonians controlled a coalition of all the Peloponnesian cities except Argos.

Certain parts of Greece, especially in the north-west, must still have remained in archaic conditions, with political life conducted on a tribal basis.

Their organization must have been much like that which was common in the West, where the Italic peoples had started the system of strong centres containing part of the population, with the rest in villages of one kind or another. The Etruscans, who in this, as in other things, were the heirs of the *palafitticoli* and *terramaricoli*, created city-states relatively early. Later, partly of their own accord and partly in imitation of the Greek *dodecapoleis* and similar organizations, they arrived at the stage in which leagues were created. Of these the largest were three in number: one in Etruria proper, which in classical times had its capital at Volsinii; the other two in Campania and the Po valley, where from the seventh century onwards the Etruscans had established an empire outside Tuscany. But these leagues, at any rate in our period, did not promote political unity; for the cities continued to conduct their own policies, and to divide themselves into rival groups.

In the earliest times, about 1000 BC, the normal organization of all the other peoples of ancient Italy, Indo-European and pre-Indo-European, was undoubtedly tribal. But in the first half of the first millennium they must have developed the religious leagues which assumed political significance later on. In Latium we hear of the Albenses, controlled from Alba Longa and then from Rome; the league of Diana Nemoensis, of which Tusculum was in command; and the league of Caput Aquae Ferentinae, the centre of Latin resistance to the extension of Roman hegemony. There were more leagues north and south of the Tiber, such as that based on the temple of Venus between Laurentum and Ardea. Other Italic peoples, such as the Hernici and Samnites, also had religious federations which often developed into political leagues, and the same was true of the Celts and Iberians beyond the Alps.

Hegemonies of wider dimensions were established in the Greek colonial world, but they were generally short-lived because of the rivalries which developed and because the distances between mother cities and colonies were so great. The relation between Corinth and its colonies is a good example, with the colonies on the Ionian sea remaining more closely linked to their mother city, while those on the west coast of Italy broke away. Similarly Megara Hyblaea broke with Selinus, and Gela with Acragas. After the loss of Corsica detached the Phocaean colonies north of that island from the rest, Massilia was able to reunite the northern group in a small empire of its own.

We find a similar phenomenon among the Phoenician colonies in North Africa, Spain, and the islands of the western Mediterranean. They were originally dependent on Tyre; but when Tyre lost its own independence, and communications with Phoenicia were broken, they were reorganized into a unified empire by Carthage.

b. *International Relations*

We have a certain amount of evidence about political alliances made in our period, either at the conclusion of wars, or to form coalitions, or to lay down relative spheres of action on land and sea. Here is a summary list of the more important:³²

- (1) treaties of friendship, peace, and agreement between the kings of Assyria and their neighbours, concluded c.1100, 900, and 860–853;
- (2) close coalition against Shalmaneser II made in 854 by the kings of Damascus, Hamath, and the Hittite country, together with the Phoenician states, Israel, the Ammonites, and Egypt;
- (3) pact of alliance for the division of Assyria made in 608 between the neo-Babylonian king Nabopolassar and Cyaxares of Media, with conclusion of ties of marriage;
- (4) agreement on reciprocal military aid, dated c.600, between Alyattes of Lydia and the Asiatic Greek cities of Miletus, Colophon, and Priene;
- (5) peace of 585 between the kings Alyattes of Lydia and Cyaxares of Media after an indecisive war;
- (6) agreement of 569 between Amasis of Egypt and the Greek city of Cyrene;
- (7) understandings made by Croesus of Lydia between 555 and 550 with Ephesus, Nabuna'id of Babylonia, Amasis of Egypt, and Sparta;
- (8) alliance of 545–540 between Cyrus of Persia and Miletus;
- (9) agreement of 533–532 between Amasis of Egypt and Polycrates of Samos;
- (10) pact of 526 between the Persian Cambyses and the Arabians of Sinai.

We also know of the following treaties between Greek cities:

- (1) the acceptance by Eleusis of subjection to Athens in c.650;
- (2) conclusion of the Lelantine war between Chalcis and Eretria in c.650;
- (3) coalition c.625 between Messenians, Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatans against Sparta and Elis;
- (4) peace, by arbitration of Periander, between Mitylene and Athens, 610–595;
- (5) alliance for 100 years between Elis and Heraia, concluded between 588 and 572;
- (6) agreement c.555, between Peisistratus and the Thessalians;
- (7) agreement for 30 years between Anaia and the Metapii;
- (8) agreement between the Spartans and Tegeates against the Messenians, c.550;
- (9) pact between Athens and Plataea in 519.

In the West there are also recorded:

- (1) the treaty of c.540 between the Carthaginians and Etruscans against the Phocaeans of Corsica;

- (2) subsequent peace between the defeated Carthaginians and the Massiliotes;
 - (3) first naval treaty between Rome and Carthage, of 508 or slightly earlier.
- (Under this the Romans were allowed to trade freely in Sicily, and with reservations in Sardinia and Libya, but not beyond the Fair Cape [Cape Farina]; the Carthaginians could trade on the coast of Latium, provided they did not commit acts of piracy or war and provided they did not erect fortified bases there.)

5. PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

a. Legislation

There was no legislative power in ancient India. According to the theory found in later texts, the sources of law, in order of importance, were first the *Veda*, then tradition (*Smṛti*), and thirdly practices of those versed in the *Vedas*—in other words, the sacred texts and the interpretation gathering around them. In later days various collections of legal texts were produced (the *Dharmaśāstra*), but their validity depended on tacit and spontaneous acceptance by the governing classes and by the people, and it therefore varied at different times and in different places.

The term gradually employed was *dharma*, which had many shades of meaning—moral law, duty, good conduct. But *dharma* after the Late Vedic period was not the same for everyone: each caste, each social status, and each profession had its particular *dharma*. The *dharma* of the soldier was not that of the farmer, that of a woman was not that of a man. A rich complexity, therefore, but also great adaptability: it was round these differences that one of the most exalted texts in India, the *Bhagavadgītā*, was constructed. The king and his counsellors were subject to *dharma* like anyone else, and had no way of making any modification in it. This could only be done by time and by changes in public opinion within the priestly order, which was the chief (but not the only) interpreter of *dharma*.

In the Vedic period the king had the power to punish his subjects, but as yet there was no legal administration or law courts to back this power. From Vedic writings we get some light on offences and their punishment. The worst form of murder, indeed the only form which was regarded as fully coming under this head, was that perpetrated on a Brahman; but in the Vedic period this could still be expiated by the sacrifice of a horse (*aśvamedha*); this was difficult and extremely expensive. A blood vendetta by relations of the murdered man was permitted, but this institution came to be softened by the system of blood-money (*vairadeya*): one text mentions blood-money of a hundred cows paid for the killing of a man. For theft penalties ranged from death at the stake to cutting off a hand and the pillory, according to the gravity of the offence. Cases of minor importance in the villages were left to the decision of rural arbiters (*grāmyavādin*). In criminal procedure witnesses were of primary importance, but recourse was often

had to the ordeal, for instance the grasping of a red-hot iron (cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI, 16, 1-2). As regards civil law in the Vedic periods we know only some outlines of the law of patrimony and succession, to which there are several references. Civil procedure made frequent use of the good offices of a referee (*praśna-vivāka*).

The legal situation in the *Upaniṣad* period is reflected in the various *Dharmasūtras*, which were composed in the second half of the first millennium BC, though using ancient materials. *Dharma* extended its efficacy so as to embrace not only civil and criminal law, but every religious act and still more every action affecting society. Consequently religious punishments (penances) and social punishments (loss of caste) frequently took the place of definite legal penalties (usually very severe) for every sort of offence however grave. The king exercised full judicial power, and decided the law-suits (*vyavahāra*) brought before him. His power of criminal jurisdiction was symbolized by the *daṇḍa* or wand which gives it its name. The king could delegate this jurisdiction to his officials (*adhyakṣa*) or to his council (*pariṣad*). Punishments were corporal or alternatively exile, although pecuniary penalties (in the etymological sense of the Latin word) were beginning to be recognized. In this period punishments were already graded according to caste, robbery with violence by a *śūdra* being punished by death and confiscation of property, but the penalty for the same crime by a Brahman being blinding. Blood-money was still allowed, but this too was graded by caste: the killing of a Brahman was now declared a crime beyond expiation: that of a *kṣattriya* could be compensated by a thousand cows, that of a *vaiśya* by a hundred cows, and that of a *śūdra* by ten cows. In the law of succession women were generally debarred from inheriting, although this principle was somewhat modified at the end of this period, as we shall see later. Precedence in succession was given to male relations up to the sixth degree (*sapinda*), and only then to anyone more distant (*sakulya*). There was no will and its place was taken by the distribution of property made in the owner's lifetime. All the same the dispositions of the oldest relevant texts are imprecise and often self-contradictory, and it was local and family custom which reigned supreme.

The foundation of Hebrew law was the statute (*Thora*), and its essential core, summarizing all statutes, was the Ten Commandments (the Decalogue).

The traditional story of the way this Law was given by the God of the Hebrews shows us at once how dependent it was on revelation. We see the deeply religious character of the Hebrew code, and the intimate bond which has always existed for them between the precepts of religion and the statutes of their law. There is something of this kind among other Eastern peoples but among the Hebrews the religious aspect is so much more emphasized that it is ultimately the characteristic feature of their nation.

The purpose behind every statute was from first to last the religious and transcendent one of glorifying God and promoting his Kingdom. This

meant that every breach of the law was regarded as a sin or profanation, requiring a sacrifice to expiate it. The guiding principle of all Hebrew legislation was a precise calculation of giving and receiving, a rigid mathematical criterion which measured every action to assign it a proportionate retribution. In this way human actions were all valued in terms of reward or punishment in this world; every man gets classified according to his deserts among the just or among the wicked.

This ethical and religious colouring was reflected fairly obviously in the particular statutes adopted. On the one hand they may be found to reflect a spirit of strict justice rather than an attitude of piety; but on the other hand one meets precepts and ordinances of a very high moral standard, such as those on protection of widows and orphans, the suppression of usury, or the regulation of property. Yet we cannot say exactly how far these rules were applied in practice. The lofty protests of the prophets may imply frequent disregard of the code which had been laid down, and a low standard of respect for law.

Besides the written Law, preserved in detail in various books of the Bible, there was also oral Law, which served to interpret the written code and adapt it to particular situations which might be encountered during the changes and chances of life. The written Law, being God's word, was sacred and could not be altered: the oral Law proceeded from expositions by the rabbis, and in time became more oppressive and meticulous, until it was enunciated under 613 heads, 248 positive and 365 negative, in Talmudic times. As a result Hebrew scholars, as we have already seen, devoted much time and attention to study of the Law.

We explained above that retribution was almost the guiding principle of Hebrew legislation. The law of 'talion' was continually made more explicit in the criminal code, and not only the individual but his whole family were involved in the assessment of responsibility. Sometimes money compensation was allowed instead of the strict payment of 'an eye for an eye'; on other occasions the guilty party could gain asylum in one of certain recognized holy places. Capital punishment was usually carried out by stoning: prison as a punishment was unknown.

Moses, and then in their turn the kings, had acted as judges, but judicial functions were ordinarily entrusted to elders and heads of tribes—and in later days to the Levites. These judges would sit in front of city gates. After hearing the parties, together with at least two witnesses to guarantee the truth of the deposition, they would pronounce sentence, and if possible see that the sentence was carried out immediately.

Our summing-up must be that Hebrew law-giving was pervaded by lofty ideals of morality, its aim being on the whole to protect the poor, help the needy, and prevent injustice. In comparison with other Eastern legal codes it is clearly superior, though Hebrew history records many examples of infraction of their laws.

In Egypt the primitive idea was that the Pharaoh's divine will as expressed in his orders must be carried into effect even if it was prompted by malice. The effects of this were tempered in time, because kings would stay their hand when they remembered what harm had been caused by some of their predecessors' regulations. For these reasons didactic handbooks got written, such as the 'Lessons of a Pharaoh to his Sons' accompanied by collections of illustrative stories.

At the same time the decisions made by Pharaohs on particular occasions led on to written sets of rules, drawn up on general principles but also anticipating individual happenings. These rules have not come down to us. The king always remained the highest judge of appeals. Diodorus (I, 74 ff.) lists five law-giving Pharaohs before the Persian conquest, and on the fourth of them, Bocchoris, he pauses (*ib.* 79) to record some of his laws on commerce, loans, and contracts, asserting that many of this Pharaoh's regulations survived to his own time (meaning the time of his source).

The Greek world was divided into city-states, each of which had its own laws. Yet they are all very similar to one another, because they were inspired by common legal concepts and because inter-city leagues and treaties encouraged uniformity. Originally law emanated from the kings, with guidance from their Council of Elders or Senators. The kings were then succeeded by oligarchies, whose governing organs now made laws and applied customs in a way which suited their partisan interests. Finally a *nomothetes* or law-giver in each city would be appointed on the request of the people to draft a fixed code, based partly on ancient custom and partly on innovation. To secure its permanence the law-givers (especially the earliest ones) sometimes invented a myth and presented their work as divinely inspired.³³ Alterations, which were of course inevitable in time, were decided by assemblies of the whole people, or of some part of them, on a proposal made by magistrates.

Family rights were by custom the province of heads of family, whose power was in origin absolute but became milder and more restricted as time went on. They could still ordain the exposure of newly born children or the banishment of an unworthy son, but a son's right of inheritance tended to pass out of a father's control when the son had entered on his eighteenth year. Guardianship over the legal acts of a woman also became less rigid, and the guardian of a widow was only concerned to help her in her affairs. It became common practice for the guardian of a minor to entrust his ward's funds to the management of some citizen who would pay an agreed sum by way of interest. It was regarded as normal that a son should succeed his father, and an adopted son his adoptive father. A woman who had received a dowry was normally excluded from her father's will, but special regulations governed the case of heiresses. The city's laws protected in the first instance those males of eighteen years and over who possessed the requirements for full citizenship. But they also gave specific forms of assistance to classes in the population

who did not enjoy such citizenship: for instance to ex-foreigners who had obtained a form of citizenship through domicile and possession of property, and to foreigners who were only allowed domicile under protection of a patron. There were special laws governing the passage from slavery to freedom. From archaic times recognition was given to the legal capacity of certain societies and colleges, both public and private.

There were definite rules about various forms of property, classified into visibles (such as premises, livestock, or slaves) and invisibles, which as such might escape taxation. Legal as well as contractual forms of easement were recognized. The sale of real estate had to be preceded by specific forms of public notice and required registration; moreover there were rules about the moment at which ownership passed from seller to buyer and about the deposit which the buyer might have to make. Every city would also have regulations about terms of credit, related either to agreements made in money, for the discharge of fines, or to loans with definite arrangements for repayment and penalties for default. As regards damage to persons, customary criminal law originally assented to the practice of a vendetta conducted by the injured party's family. Later, compensation was fixed by referees selected by the state, and the state's judicial machinery took the place of the vendetta, although the family's right to interfere was always implicit in the procedure. Accidental homicide, originally not distinguished from deliberate, now had a different penalty (exile instead of death), at any rate under the Draconian code at Athens. A similar distinction was made between thieves caught in the act and other thieves. The laws were also severe on wounding, grave slander, and adultery.

Offences against the state, originally within the king's jurisdiction, were generally tried by the accepted machinery, which in an oligarchic régime meant the senate and magistrates rather than the whole people. But in more serious cases of impiety, desertion, treachery, and peculation there might be information laid in approved form and tried by some form of popular assembly.

We have very little concrete information about the development of law in the Regal period at Rome. The natural heads of families and tribes must have laid down rules on matters which concerned their own members, and seen to their execution, following the *mos maiorum*, while matters of concern to the state were dealt with by the king assisted by the senate. Tradition speaks of *leges regiae*, and it is reasonable to think that such laws existed, whatever value we set on those that are actually recorded. The king undoubtedly presided over a court of final appeal. The college of pontiffs, although they were neither judges nor law-givers, played an important part in litigation, since, as keepers of the secret archives and directors of the *sacra* which affected private-and public life alike, they were in a position to give appropriate counsel and responses. In the law of the family these pontifical responses were decisive, when questions were at issue about transmission

of the *sacra* or about the validity of marriages, adoptions, and wills. The pontiffs, moreover, were the experts on sacred and public canons, who determined how the ancestral gods should be conducted. They were the regular 'jurisconsults' who alone possessed all the secrets and could advise which of the many possible procedures a litigant should adopt. So without an authentic interpretation from them the laws could not be applied.

b. *Finance and Taxation*

In ancient India tribute (*bali*), which was at first voluntary but later compulsory, is mentioned as early as the *Rigveda* period (I, 70, 9; V, 1, 10, etc.). The king is described as the 'devourer of the people', i.e. as living and performing his task on the tribute the people give him. To collect and bring in this tribute he employed officials (*bhāgadugha*, *saṃgrahitr*), who were at the same time members of the royal council. Taxes (*sulka*) were in kind, fixed as percentages ($\frac{1}{16}$ according to *Atharvaveda* III, 29) of the crops or livestock produce. It appears that from very ancient times members of the royal family and *Kṣatriya* generally (the class dominant in politics), together with the Brahmins (the class dominant in religion), were exempt from taxation. Since *sūdra* on the other hand had no right of property, the whole burden fell on the *vaiśya*.

In the Late Vedic period taxation was better defined and organized, but given the date of the relevant texts it is wiser to deal with this matter in Part II.

In Egypt the Pharaoh had to meet huge expenses for his sumptuous court, for the costs of administration and the official cult, and for the army, especially its mercenary section. But he also had very large funds to meet these expenses, partly produce stored in granaries, partly precious metals in his treasuries. Besides the returns from his vast domains, the main sources of income were as follows. There was a poll tax and a tax on each head of livestock; a percentage was due to the state on all crops, including the produce of gardens and orchards; and a levy was made on manufacturers and professional men. To this should be added the yield from state trading and the duties imposed on private trade, the booty from war, and the tribute and presents received from vassal states. At the same time large savings were made possible by the imposition of every kind of corvée on the king's subjects.

In Assyria, too, expenses were fairly heavy. There was the magnificence displayed by the king and his household, the construction and maintenance of the palace and temples, the management of royal domains, the cost of sacrifices, the administrative system with its system of controls, and above all there was an army continuously engaged in fighting. On the other hand the enormous size of the domains and of the returns they brought in, together with the lack of any distinction between state and royal treasuries, gave the king unfettered control over provincial revenues, taxes, dues, and corvées, as well as over booty and over presents and tribute (regular and extraordinary)

from vassal peoples. This wealth he stored and hoarded, some of it being occasionally used to make loans or to engage in profitable operations.

Hoarding was also possible for smaller peoples, since they could pay for war out of war itself. And in fact large hoards are recorded, for instance Solomon's famous treasure, which was valued at a thousand talents of gold and a thousand of silver.

For Persia Herodotus (III, 88-96) has given us the figures for the tribute imposed by Darius on each of his twenty satrapies. The lowest are 170 Babylonian talents of silver for the seventh satrapy, and 200 each for the eleventh and eighteenth: the highest are 360 talents of gold dust (equivalent to 4,680 Euboic silver talents) for the twentieth satrapy (India), 1,000 silver talents for the ninth satrapy (Babylonia), and 700 for the sixth (Egypt). Herodotus calculates the total annual revenue at 14,560 Euboic silver talents. Each satrapy had to make other contributions, too: for instance the fourth satrapy (Cilicia) had to provide 360 white horses each year, and the ninth 500 castrated youths, while the sixth (Egypt) was made to deliver the fish caught in Lake Moeris.

In such circumstances we can easily see how Alexander the Great was said to have found 380,000 silver talents in the treasury of Ecbatana. The size of the tribute was undoubtedly out of all proportion to what was spent on the satrapies themselves. We know that out of 500 Euboic silver talents paid by the fourth satrapy only 140 remained at the disposal of the satrap while 360 went to Darius. Moreover since the normal contributions did not exclude the possibility of abnormal exactions, and since the normal levy could be regularly increased, the system was undoubtedly one of the main causes of revolts, especially in Babylonia.

In Greece of the Mycenaean Age and during the centuries when the oldest Homeric poems were written the king possessed the returns from his own domains and in addition the booty from war and the presents made him by his subjects, who also contributed to the expenses of sacrifices, hecatombs, and banquets. Other expenses were relatively small. In war, for example, fighting men had to look after their own maintenance and equipment. The state continued to enjoy these favourable conditions in the early part of the ensuing oligarchic period, when magistrates were still unpaid. But state expenses were already increasing—for naval construction, missions abroad, public sacrifices, and festivals—while the income to meet them was still confined to the revenues from public (previously royal) lands, supplemented by voluntary contributions (*epidoseis*) made by citizens, especially for equipping the navy. In Solon's time the state had very little additional income, such as that from court fees, fines, or the sale of skins of sacrificial victims. Expenses then mounted heavily during the age of tyranny, to provide for their courts, public works, gifts to temples, fleets, and mercenaries; and corresponding provision was made to increase state revenues. The Cypselids at Corinth, for example, are said to have taxed sales. Most tyrants imposed

harbour dues, and Peisistratus was first responsible for the Athenian tax of 5 per cent on the produce of the soil.

c. *War and the Organization of the Military*

War technique in feudal China during the first half of the first millennium BC was based on the chariot, carrying a noble warrior with his charioteer and shieldbearer. Around him were massed his vassals fighting on foot, but they were of little military value. So in the Chou period there is an increasingly ceremonial and artificial character about war, which is reduced to a rigid schematism, eventually rather like the ballet, with a very complicated knightly code. The leader in war, as in all social life of this period, was the aristocrat or *chiün-tzu*. But when, in the course of these unending wars, the number of feudal states declined and larger units took shape, as happened at the end of this period, the traditional type of fighting tended to change and to assume features more related to reality. For example in 540 BC the state of Chin won an important victory over the mountain people called Jung by using infantry instead of chariots, despite keen opposition by the nobles.

The arms were mainly the mace (pre-Chou), lance, and spear, with points first of bronze and only later (c. 500 BC) of iron. The Chinese bow from the start was composite (i.e. made of different materials), and reflex (i.e. it changed its direction of curvature, as contrasted with the almost perfect half-ellipse of the long bow). The typical Chinese bow was made of a horn element applied on the bamboo stave in the 'belly' or convexity of the bow. The carefully treated sinew, soaked in glue and laid with the same substance, was always applied to the back, and was often protected by a layer of supple tree-bark, such as birch. The whole 'leaf-spring' assembly was then lacquered or painted externally, for protection against the weather. The third-century BC *Chou-li*, which reflects earlier traditions, has a long chapter on the bow in its section entitled *K'ao-kung-chi* (Artificers' Record).

The Vedic writings give us some idea of the methods of war in the earliest period of India. The king and the *Kṣattriya* fought from chariots, with such of the commons as took part in war accompanying them on foot. We find certain words for military units (*gaṇa*, *śardha*, *vrāta*), but their precise meaning cannot be defined. The principal arms were bow and arrows, with points of metal or horn, though lance, sword, axe, and sling were also used as offensive weapons. There was defensive armour, but we have no particulars. Siege warfare was still very primitive, although the *Rigveda* already show knowledge of a 'mobile fortress' for attacking the Dasyu strongholds. The people of this period must have been able to ride horses, but they did not do so in war.

The art of war became increasingly specialized in the hands of the *Kṣattriya*, who were soldiers by profession, with the result that definite rules were

laid down, such as a prohibition on the use of poisoned weapons and on the killing of a foe who surrendered. War became to some extent ceremonial; and although there were no further important developments in this direction, this period did much to create something which was most characteristic of all Indian military history, namely that their machinery of war got enslaved to tradition and was antiquated in comparison with that used by their neighbours and invaders.

As described in Indian epic, war is not very different from the war of the Homeric poems. Armies were composed of vassal or allied chiefs and their supporters. There was no standing army, although the *Kṣatriya* as a caste had some of the characteristics of professionals. A battle centred round decisive duels between the chiefs and principal warriors, against a background of confused and indecisive fighting between the masses on each side. Later on the art of war became, like other things, the subject of theorizing. At the end of our period we get the theory of the complete ideal army in four sections (*aṅga*)—chariots, cavalry, elephants, and infantry—called therefore *caturāṅga*.

In Egypt we find two forces pulling in opposite directions. The people was by nature peace-loving, since for centuries it had been secure in the geographical isolation of the country: but defensive measures were necessarily imposed in time by the invasions of nomads from beyond the frontiers and by the struggles for supremacy against other empires which had advanced to the Egyptian border. Yet Pharaohs and people continued to regard war as a transient rather than a permanent state of affairs, which did not require any military organization to continue in times of peace. Recruiting was therefore difficult and required special measures when emergencies arose; and a soldier had little prestige in society. Eventually the lack of military preparedness led the government to recruit professional mercenaries to meet particular occasions—Nubians, Asiatics, Libyans, and Greeks. This had its usual results in heavy expenditure, friction between mercenaries and native population, and an army that was doubtfully loyal. Mercenary chieftains would try to usurp the royal power; certain Libyans and Nubians actually succeeded. The solution devised was to transform the mercenaries in peace-time into peasants, giving each a plot of land, so as to have a permanent force of peasant soldiers. But this was not particularly valuable, because in periods when the central power was weak the mercenaries tended to cast off their military obligations and become simply agricultural proprietors.

The Assyrians, conquerors and warlords *par excellence*, naturally put a special force behind their army and its operations. In this department the great organizer was Ashur-nasipal II (883–859), but it was almost a constant characteristic of Assyrian kings to be brave and experienced generals. The army was put together by regular conscription of substantial quotas from the ruling population, each class providing appropriate types of unit and armament, backed up by contributions from the various subject peoples.

A rich and powerful Assyrian fought in one of two ways. Either he rode in a chariot drawn by two horses, with room for a charioteer, for the warrior himself, and for a servant holding a shield. Or alternatively he fought on horseback (without stirrups and with a coverlet serving as a saddle). In early days a rider was accompanied by grooms, but later he fought alone with his horse caparisoned and protected by armour.

The lower classes, vassals, and mercenaries were infantry and specialist forces, such as archers, slingers, and engineers (to deal with bridges, fords, and roads). They also looked after the baggage train and siege operations, employing ladders, rams, and parapets, and it was from these classes that the navy was drawn.

Intensive use of cavalry is also a feature of the Persian army. The satrapies, as well as being administrative units, served as regimental bases. Each included very varied races, cultures, methods of warfare, and fighting material, which made their levies difficult to combine with one another. It was not obvious that all were inspired by patriotism: indeed many were longing to regain their liberty. The forces on which the government could count were the Iranian levies, which formed the core of the army, the king's bodyguard (his chosen corps of 'Immortals'), and the garrisons of fortresses: and with them could be reckoned certain classes of mercenaries, especially the Greeks. The latter could be ready for any emergency, but the enrolment, training, and mobilization of the regional forces took a quite excessively long time, even though the construction of roads had made it possible to quicken their marches and improve their commissariat.

In the Mycenaean Age, and during the following centuries which are reflected in Homer, we can trace various phases in the history of Greek armies and the Greek art of war. Initially the power of the army was concentrated in the persons of the king and his powerful companions, who possessed chariots, horses, and shieldbearers. They were clothed in full armour, with very large shields of wood and hide, which later gave place to smaller ones made of bronze. Their subjects followed them as ill-armed foot-soldiers, whose confused encounters were only the background to the main action, the combats between the princes, fighting from their chariots or on foot. The next phase came when the masses were first given tactical organization, being distributed into phratries and tribes which they had spontaneously created (*Iliad*, II, 362). We find a reflection of this kind of organization in the five Myrmidon battalions of 500 men each (*ib.* II, 168 ff.). In battle there were three lines, first the chariots, then the inferior infantry, and in the third the infantry of better quality (*ib.* IV, 297 ff.). The last phase is described by the *Iliad* (XIII, 130 ff.; XVI, 212 ff.) in a way which exactly fits Tyrtaeus' verses on Spartan battles:³⁴ there is a compact phalanx of hoplites in a leather and metal armour, with lance and shield, whose power consisted in the weight behind the unbroken line they could fling at their enemy in a charge.

In contrast with the popularity and success of the phalanx, cavalry tended

to lose importance in most of the Greek world once war chariots had disappeared. Mounted men were now used simply for advanced reconnaissance: otherwise they dismounted and fought on foot. Hoplite forces were divided into regiments which corresponded at first to the 'personal' tribes, and later to the local tribes created by the state (five at Sparta, ten at Athens).

At Rome the first military organization of which we have any detailed knowledge is that based on thirty centuries of infantry provided by thirty *curiae*, together with three squadrons of *celerēs* or cavalry. This made up the 'legion' of 3,000 foot and 300 horse (1,000 + 100 from each tribe). Tradition ascribed this system to Romulus, but it clearly presupposes the existence of the state tribes on a local basis; and those are to be attributed to Servius Tullius, in whose time the main hills of Rome were united into a single 'urbs'. Servius divided the inhabitants into three sections, which were not entirely new, called Ramnes (the Romans of Roma Quadrata), Titienses (or Quirites of the Quirinal and Capitoline), and Luceres (of the Coelian, Esquiline, and Velia).

But at the end of the Regal period and in early Republican days the infantry were already 6,000 in six battalions, and the cavalry 600 also in six regiments, so that each praetor commanded a legion of 3,000 plus 300. This means that each of the three tribes had been doubled in size, by the addition of 'second' Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres. All these soldiers still continued to be drawn from the propertied classes, in groups of *gentiles* supported by their clients. In the period of the Etruscan kings there would certainly also have been non-Roman troops, brought by the kings from Etruria as a personal bodyguard.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. These groups were collections of what would now be called 'families'; and they owned, in commonalty, the means of production, i.e. herds, cattle, and even the land. The Greeks called them *genē*, and the Romans *gentes*.

As Dr P. Oliva points out, the individual family, as the basis of social relations, did not originate until relatively late; but of course from early times the family kept house independently, and thus promoted the decomposition of the tribe. In the Homeric poems the soil is owned collectively (by groups of families), but the *basileis* receive the best lots 'as a present from the people'.

2. The authors do not understand sufficiently clearly the origin and social function of the state, and they fail to show that it came into being as the result of certain changes in the social and economic structure. (K. M. Kolobova.)
3. It is of course implied that the goods were in theory regarded as the property of the people.
4. Yet the Greek king was of course nothing like an oriental or Hellenistic monarch. He headed a confederacy of tribes, and was responsible to the council of the oldest heads of families—or even (see *Iliad*, II, 207 ff.) to the Assembly of the people.
5. Many Soviet historians consider it totally incorrect to identify the ancient Chinese titles *kung*, *hou*, *po*, *tsu*, and *nan* with the European terms duke, marquess, earl, viscount, and baron (see, for example, L. V. Simonovskaya, 'Voprosy periodizatsii drevney istorii

Kitaya' [Problems of Periodization in Ancient Chinese History], *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1950, no. 1).

Apart from this, even if it were possible to accept such an identification, it would be valid only for the middle of the first millennium BC, and under no circumstances for the beginning of that millennium. During the early Chou these terms still denoted relations of kinship (*po*—uncle, *izu*—son), or else referred to tribal chiefs (*kung*) and their aides and followers (*hou*). It was only from the ninth and eighth centuries BC onwards that these terms came to be transformed into titles of rulers of individual kingdoms and 'fiefs'. (L. S. Vasilyev.)

6. Dr P. Oliva objects to the use of such a word about the Homeric period. All Professor Pareti means, however, is that the king was concerned with the organization of which he was the head, and not with individuals' rights.
7. As Dr P. Oliva notes, this word is perhaps anachronistic for so early a period.
8. Professor K. M. Kolobova maintains that Nestor, so far from recommending an innovation, was appealing to his own longevity and counselling a return to the past. The *Iliad* (II, 655) suggests that the division into tribes was already recognized, and it is arguable that other ancient evidence (e.g. Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*) attests tribal divisions in Mycenaean times.
9. Professor Pareti's arguments for this view of early Spartan constitutional development are given in *Storia di Sparta arcaica* (Florence, 1920), esp. I, 177. It has been strongly contested, and it must be admitted that a period of 'sole monarchy' has no support in ancient sources. But the suggestion that it was the heads of twenty-seven phratries (the number which celebrated the festival called Carneia) *plus* the two kings *plus* the head of a third house (the Aegeidae) which built up the number thirty of the Spartan Council is substantially accepted by G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London, 1962), p. 48, and has great attractiveness. Whatever the truth on these points, however, the Spartan kings continued to be two, not three. The other important early developments (see also below, p. 169) were the institution of the five Ephors (attributed to King Theopompus, perhaps c. 700 BC), and that of the Council of Thirty, apparently a reform for which religious sanction was sought from Delphi. Both the latter institutions were attributed by early tradition to the law-giver Lycurgus; see above, p. 27, note 23.
10. The term *rājā* (*rājan*) does not seem to be a synonym for *kṣattriya*: in principle the *rājan* is a *kṣattriya*, but all *kṣattriya* are not *rājan*, they are *rājanya*.
11. The 'Hectemors' of early Athens may have had a status of this kind, tied to their plots and rendering a sixth part to their lords. But Professor Pareti's statement is valid in relation to the generality of Greek states.
12. This is a possible reason for the decline in Spartan population, which so much impressed itself on Greeks of the classical period (e.g. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1270 a 20). But the event from which the Spartans never recovered was the earthquake of 464 BC; before this they are not known to have had any population problem. Later the state tried desperately to remedy matters, by penalizing celibacy and by giving privileges to fathers of three sons. See H. Michell, *Sparta* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 248.
13. Or perhaps rather the villages or obes, which were probably five in number at the time (c. 700 BC) when the Ephorate was created.
14. In his account of early Rome Professor Pareti follows closely the views of G. de Sanctis (on this point see *Storia dei Romani* [Turin, 1907], I, 399 ff.). It must be said, however, that the Romans themselves were confident that the two collegiate magistrates who succeeded the kings were on terms of equality with one another. The term *praetor maximus* is more usually taken to derive from a later period (perhaps the mid-fifth century) when *two* further praetors were added; so there were two *praetores maximi*, who later became called *consules*, and their two junior colleagues remained as *praetores*.
15. But see p. 55, note 43.
16. See Sir Leonard Woolley, *History of Mankind*, I-2, pp. 451 ff.

17. The recent excavations carried out by the University of Allahabad at Kausambi now provide direct archaeological data. See also p. 286 (Rājagṛha).
18. The classic fortifications of Athens were built after the Persian wars (479–478 BC), but strong defences had gradually been erected at various earlier dates. See Ida Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* (London, 1953), esp. pp. 8 ff.
19. The main authority for regarding Hippodamus' regular town-planning as the work of a pioneer is Aristotle, *Politics*, 1267a. It does indeed seem likely that he greatly influenced the development of Greek (as distinct from Italian) cities from the late fifth century onwards. In his own area the lay-out of Priene, with straight streets though the town is on a hillside, is remarkable.
20. The view that the Laurium mines at one time belonged to the Pisistratid tyrants is the basis of a fascinating theory advanced by P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (Cambridge, 1922). It unfortunately rests on no very precise ancient evidence, though it is probable that Athens worked the mines as early as the sixth century.
21. It should be noted that the character of land ownership and tenure in China underwent an important evolution during the first centuries of the Chou. In brief it can be summarized as follows:

After the Yin conquest there came into existence the right of supreme property over all the conquered territory. This was invested in the Chou *wang*, who in the name of the Chous made rich grants of landed 'fiefs' to his relatives and supporters on the basis of conditional tenure. Only the territory inhabited by the Chous themselves ('the domain of the *wang*', as it is sometimes called) were not at first turned into granted land, but were *de facto* the property of the collective (commune) of the victorious Chous. As the power of the *wang* weakened, some of the former 'fiefs' turned into independent kingdoms. Their new rulers came to exercise rights of supreme proprietorship over the territory of their kingdoms, and in turn began to grant it to their relatives and retainers on conditional tenure. In the *wang*'s 'domain' a similar process occurred. Having lost the income that had previously come from what were now independent kingdoms, the *wang* was obliged to exercise his right of supreme proprietorship over the lands of the Chous. The free commune of Chous was deprived of its *de facto* right of ownership, and the lands were taken by the *wang* to enable him to make grants to his retainers and officials on terms of conditional tenure. In this way, by the eighth century BC or thereabouts, the picture was as follows: supreme suzerainty of the Chou *wang*, which was just a formality, a historical relic; right of supreme proprietorship exercised by the rulers of the large independent kingdoms; right of conditional tenure invested in the nobility; right of land used by the communes.

See L. S. Vasilyev, *Agrarnie otnosheniya i obshchina v Drevnem Kitae* [*Agrarian Relations and Community in Ancient China*] (Moscow, 1961). (L. S. Vasilyev.)

22. The existence of polyandry in a limited region of Dravidian India, and without any ancient attestation, is not enough to establish that the Dravidian family was to any extent matriarchal. The cult of the Great Mother cannot be regarded as typically southern: the earliest sources (Tamil literature, said to be by Sangam) make no reference to it. The first allusions to such a cult are relatively late, and concern not only the 'Mother' but the god Murugan (Kumāra) as well and even primarily. In later literature and in temples the cult of the 'Mother' has no greater attestation than in the north.
23. The process whereby the large Chinese peasant families disintegrated into small isolated families, each farming on its own account, coincided with the disintegration of the communal collective economy. The existence of such small isolated families is registered already in the later songs of the *Shih Ching* (section Kuo feng). With them there also developed the system of individual plots, from about the eighth–seventh centuries BC onwards. (L. S. Vasilyev.)
24. This story has only the authority of the Athenian fifth-century comic poet Hermippus, and is perhaps not to be taken too seriously.
25. Dr P. Oliva insists that slavery was none the less a very typical phenomenon of the ancient world, and Professor K. M. Kolobova regrets the limitations of this section. She considers that the author should have indicated the connection between slavery and a

particular stage of social and economic development. This omission would suggest to Professor Kolobova that the author is not fully aware of the class structure of ancient society, in which the dominating mode of production was that of slave-owning.

26. Enslavement as punishment for crime was not a common source of slavery in China during the first half of the first millennium BC: this relates in the main to later periods. See V. A. Rubin, 'Rabovladienie v drevnem Kitaye v 7-5 vv. do n. e.' (Slave-owning in Ancient China, seventh-fifth centuries BC), *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1959, no 3. (L. S. Vasilyev.)
27. Professor J. Filliozat disputes the validity of this argument from the word *varṇa*, on the ground that the colour in question is not that of the skin. He maintains also that the late *Rigveda* (X, 90, cited below) applies the four-class division to all mankind, not to Indian society only; furthermore that the *śūdra*, who equally with the other classes are drawn from the body of cosmic man, are not regarded as a different race. See also his article 'Les classes sociales de l'Inde' in G. Olivier, *Anthropologie des Tamouls de l'Inde du Sud* (Paris, 1961).
28. Though in one sense these were private associations, Dr P. Oliva points out that they were recognized units of the tribal society, which then continued their existence after the state organization had taken shape. What Professor Pareti goes on to say suggests that he would have assented to some such formulation.
29. See Nestor's advice to Agamemnon (*Iliad*, II, 362, quoted above, p. 162).
30. For a concise summary of the various views which have been held on the origins of this division (racial, social, or economic), see H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World, 753-146 B.C.* (2nd ed., London, 1951), pp. 39-41. There is practically no ancient testimony on the point.
31. On the reduction of certain conquered populations to serfdom see above, p. 189.
32. Since Professor Pareti wrote, evidence has been discovered of a further set of seventh-century treaties, made by Esarhaddon of Assyria. See *Iraq*, 1958, pp. 1 ff.
33. Sometimes also later generations, to give the sanction of antiquity to their institutions, attributed the bulk of them arbitrarily to a single law-giver. Many scholars have held that Lycurgus the Spartan was a fiction of this kind.
34. Tyrtaeus (*floruit* c. 660-640) is describing the contemporary war against Messenia, the 'Second Messenian War'. We have similar evidence about the mercenary infantry of Gyges of Lydia, slightly earlier in the century; and paintings on early seventh-century vases also depict hoplite formations.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF PHILOSOPHY

I. THE MAIN RELIGIONS, 1200-500 BC

a. *China*

The background to Chinese religion in the Chou period was that typical of an agricultural people. In a closed and feudal society, where the gens (or clan) was the basic unit, where older matriarchal customs had now given place to patriarchy, and where agriculture with the changes in the seasons hung over everything in life, fundamental beliefs were inevitably connected with the soil and the family. Hence the great festivals which the *Shih-ching* describes, orgiastic as a propitiation to secure a good harvest, and orgiastic again because they were occasions when the sexes came together and when marriages were concluded. The calendar dominated these festivals like an inexorable law. The guiding principle in the religious system was a dualistic concept which went very deep in the Chinese mind, that of *yin* and *yang*. These were two concrete categories and at the same time two active forces. *Yang* corresponds to male, heavens, bright, and light; *yin* to female, earth, dark, and heavy. The two principles are opposed, but also complementary to and inseparable from one another: in their equilibrium lies the prime condition for all well-being and permanence. In their continual interplay they symbolize the relation between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Space is made out of their opposition, time out of their alternation.

From this pair of opposing forces were elaborated certain ideas of semi-divine forces and beings, such as Earth, the mother of the family, and the family's ancestors. With them went a simple farmer's mythology, but this was never more than a background. Chinese religion was always rational and was not given to mystical impulses. It was matter-of-fact and prosaic, somewhat like Roman religion.

Above the religion of the peasants there was the family cult of the great aristocratic houses, whose organization and ideals were different from those of their vassals. In this feudal religion the highest place belonged to the Sovereign above, the August Heaven (Huang-t'ien Shang-ti). He ordained the seasons, and as such his worship came near to the farmer's cult. But he was also the supreme regulator of order in nature (not the creator, a being unknown to Chinese religion): so from him all constituted authority descended. He bore the title *tien-wang*, king (by grace) of heaven: indeed he was *T'ien-tzu*, son of heaven, holding his power by virtue of *t'ien-ming*, celestial mandate. Political order, in principle at least, was only a reflection

on earth of cosmic order. Besides the worship of heaven the feudal lord practised a cult of earth; and this had two aspects. There was a soil god of the country and of its capital, and a god of the patrimonial lands of the lord himself. Another important cult was that of the ancestors, who were regarded as part of the family as if they were still alive; it was from them that the family drew its force and power. The ancestor cult was also a projection into the next world of the filial piety shown in this one: 'filial piety creates in his lifetime the majesty of the ancestor-to be' (Granet). This religion too had its mythology, which was of a Euhemerist kind. Many priestly hymns in the *Shih-ching* are intended to glorify the dynastic heroes.

The aristocracy's cult reached perfection and united all its essential features in the royal cult, which was exclusively entrusted to the Chou dynasty. This cult was the essential feature of sovereignty: the conventional way of saying that a state had become extinct was to say that its sacrifices had come to an end. The majesty of the Chou kings was symbolized by nine large tripods of bronze. When it fell the tripods were lost, giving rise to various legends and beliefs about their origin and significance.

b. *Assyria and Neo-Babylonia*

The Assyrians brought few new features to earlier religion. In the main they preserved what they had taken over from the Babylonians, just as the Babylonians had carried on Sumerian cults. Even the names of Assyrian gods are of Sumerian origin, just like the religious and mythological literature which the Babylonians, and the Assyrians after them, translated and adapted for transmission from one generation to another. So the Assyrians took over the Babylonian pantheon almost as it stood, with its deification of natural forces and heavenly powers. Each god had been given a genealogy, on principles which were both logical and historical, and they were conceived of anthropomorphically, without any noticeable tendency to monotheism or pantheism. Naturally some purely Assyrian gods could be added, some of the old divinities could gain in popularity, and some attributes, together with the related myths, might be altered up to a point.

The main innovation was the introduction and importance of the cult of Ashur, the tribal god who protected Ashur city and was made, above all by the Sargonids, into the supreme god of the whole vast empire. Originally Ashur was a solar deity, as his pictures still show, especially that of the god radiate spreading his two hands. But when he became the chief god he was called self-procreate, father of the gods, king of heaven and earth, and creator of mankind. As such he took the place of Anum, and of the Babylonian Marduk, as we see from the Assyrian edition of the ancient 'poem of creation'. Ashur is the god who proclaims wars, and in them leads the Assyrians to victory. The arms are his, and to him belongs part of the booty.

The goddess Ishtar, to whom a precious hymn is preserved, was greatly honoured by the Assyrians, less as the goddess of love than as the warrior

goddess. They also worshipped Adud, the god of storms, who seemed a symbol of their own tempestuous inroads. The gods Sin-Luna and Nabu, protector of scribes, were made popular by the neo-Babylonian kings, later especially by Nabuna'id.

The Assyrians retained the ethical and religious notions of their predecessors, though they gave them fuller content. They showed fear rather than love to their gods, and life after death was regarded as dismal and pale. Since there was no clear relation between the treatment accorded to a soul and the man's deserts, they used to pray their gods to give them long life rather than reward in another world. This produced a fatalistic attitude, and the Assyrians showed no particular interest in the dead or their tombs. They believed in demons, who were regarded as the authors of disease and whom they tried to chase away by cathartic rites.

The official religion gave important scope for magical spells and incantations, for divination in the most diverse forms, and for astrology, although astral divinities never became pre-eminent. All three tendencies continued after the fall of Assyria, and attained exaggerated heights under the Chaldeans.

The Assyrians also followed Babylonian ideas in the construction of complicated classes of priesthoods and in the erection of temples as homes for their gods, although they replaced the older wooden altars with more durable altars made of stone.

c. The Hebrews

The exodus of the Hebrew tribes from Egypt under their commander and law-giver Moses had led to the conquest of the 'Promised Land', when they invaded Palestine after crossing the desert and outflanking the region east of Jordan.

Being tribes of nomadic shepherds (the Bible mentions thirteen tribes) they settled in the country districts. But some cities were also occupied, and the episode of the capture of Jericho by Joshua, one of Moses' successors in the leadership, has been made famous, though it has still to be confirmed by archaeology. The enemies were the Canaanites, whose conquest was first followed by massacre but later by progressive assimilation. Compromise was impossible, because the dominant principle of the victors was to keep Yahvistic monotheism safe at all costs, and to preserve their faith, to them the most precious and characteristic feature of their race, free from all danger of contamination by heathen cults. If success attended Hebrew arms, it was regarded as a sign of divine blessing. Israel's triumph was converted into the glorification of God, for this people regarded everything they did in life as carrying out the pact of absolute dedication they had made with Yahweh.

The whole political and social order of the Hebrews was deliberately related to their religion. Indeed at this time political and religious functions were not yet separate; in the unique community life of the Chosen People

there was no room for differences between the two aspects. The only source of authority was the will of God, and the only motive for war was religion. In any case the Hebrews never sought to obtain empire, but only to defend the territory they had occupied from the frequent incursions and insistent threats of their powerful neighbours. At times of greatest danger all power was entrusted to 'Judges', who extended their jurisdiction from the civil to the military sphere. But the power of these men was always limited and occasional, and it was always exercised in virtue of divine grace or election.

The first and most famous judge was the Joshua mentioned above, who carried out the conquest of Canaan in the second half of the thirteenth century. He undoubtedly played a notable part in this period of Hebrew history, even though literary tradition later invested his exploits with epic features and also attributed some actions to him which were the work of other men. Also worthy of mention are the judge Aod (Ehud), who freed the Israelite tribes from a Moabite attempt to subject them in the twelfth century; the judge Gideon, who acquired his position after a special divine vision, and rescued the children of Israel from raiders coming from the Syrian desert; Samson, whose semi-legendary exploits are known to all for their heroic nature; and finally Samuel, who was the link between the 'charismatic' age and the age of monarchy.

The stories about the *Judges* come from an *Old Testament* book of that name, which tells of six judges at length and more briefly of another six. As always, the historical information is neither complete nor orderly, but serves as a background for a theological doctrine of the time of the later kings along the lines of the motif which constantly recurs in the Bible, namely that Israel's fortunes depend on its behaviour towards the Lord God and on its observance of the Law: political success is the result of obedience to God. There are well-known difficulties about the date of this book's composition, as well as about the interpretation of certain delicate matters such as the vow of the judge Jephthah, which probably was a quite straightforward case of human sacrifice. The story of Samuel is contained in another book, which bears his name though he was not of course its author. It covers the period from about 1075 (Samuel's birth) to 975, falling in the reign of David. We must assume that both these books represent older works which were recast at the end of the eighth century, or possibly later: the text of *Samuel* is a very difficult one, because the Greek version offers a number of variant readings and there are many problems of interpretation as well.

The monarchy was created at the end of the second millennium B.C. It originated as an attempt by the Hebrews to unify their country and centralize its government in order to offer more effective resistance to foreign pressure, especially to the Philistines, a 'people of the sea' who lived in the coastal district south of Palestine and had erected a powerful federation of cities. The monarchy was later able to take advantage of a particularly favourable moment in international politics, when the neighbouring empires in Egypt

and Mesopotamia were weak and a strong state could come into being in between. The old order of tribes and clans, together with the traditional particularism, was now a thing of the past. At the same time the fact that the king was directly chosen by God and then anointed and consecrated in a religious ceremony gave him an exceptional prestige. His investiture had more than human sanction.

But the new constitution brought its problems. The incorrigibly individualistic and tribal tradition of the Hebrew people was ill adapted to the standardization of life which monarchy brought, and there was active rivalry between the tribes of the South (Judah) and those of the North (Israel). But this was not all. The most important source of trouble was that the monarchy posed for the first time the problem of relations between the authority of the priests and the civil power. Saul, as is well known, was ruined because of quarrels with the priests; and though David and Solomon, in an able political manœuvre, tried to overcome the dualism by attaching the priests themselves to the court, they eventually created greater difficulties than before. For the established religion was challenged by a popular form which emerged spontaneously and broke away from all authoritarian rules.

Such was the origin of the prophets, who attempted to recall Israel to the pure tradition of monotheism, and to proclaim the rights of personal religion and the most elementary claims of justice against any arbitrary dictation by the king (representing the state) and against all opportunist compromises. In the pages of the Bible there are many examples of clashes between prophets and kings. Some were due to prophetic warnings, to threats of disaster brought on the country and its ruling house by the arbitrary and unjust use of supreme power. Others resulted from reprisals by the kings, who regarded the prophets as a disruptive force in the national structure, supporters of public disorder and instigators of civil disobedience.

We need not spend time on a full list of the strictly political achievements of the Hebrew kings. It is enough to say that the regal period was one of great economic prosperity, since trade flourished and expansion became possible, while the mineral wealth was exploited and important public works were carried out. But court life in the same period was a continuous series of rebellions and settlements, caused not so much by any political or personal forces as by the incessant threat which in the background hung over the Mosaic tradition: for the introduction of idolatry became probable whenever a king, for opportunist political reasons, was inclined to accept foreign cults. Certain examples are well known. Jeroboam I revived an ancient worship, similar to that introduced by Aaron, when he erected at Bethel and Dan figures of calves to symbolize the invisible presence of Yahweh. Manasseh (687-642) put into practice the magic and divination widely used in contemporary Assyria. And in 842 a bloodthirsty queen named Athaliah, daughter of King Ahab and the Phoenician princess Jezebel, worshipped Baal and tried to exterminate all the house of David. On the other hand Josiah (d. 609)

undertook a radical purification of Hebrew cult, assisted by the discovery during his reign of a codex which is very probably the *Book of Deuteronomy*, and which naturally provoked great enthusiasm among his people.

Our information about the regal period is plentiful on the rise and government of David, since he was later looked on as a symbol of the most glorious period of Hebrew history, his name being synonymous with peace, prosperity, and piety. But on the divided kingdoms evidence is much more scanty. The compilers of the *Books of Kings* and *Chronicles* (the latter a comparatively late version from the period after the Captivity) probably belonged to the priestly class, and were concerned less with historical facts than with religious considerations. Their aim was to enunciate once more the familiar concept that disobedience to God's word brought tribulation, in political as well as in other fields.

Later developments in the political situation aggravated the struggle all the time. The decline of Israel was seen as a sign of God's displeasure at his people's betrayals. Not only was it a betrayal to worship idols or to commit one or another form of moral iniquity. Even worse was to trust to human means of obtaining some end, to believe that one could achieve results by the same weapons of diplomacy as other nations used. The Hebrews had to remember their duty of trusting only in God, of achieving only through him their individual and collective salvation. All human and temporal success must be despised if it meant descending to compromise in religion and disloyalty to the people's Covenant with God.

So the prophets lifted their voices ever more loudly against all constituted authority,¹ if it started to depart from the observance of the law of God. Their views found a large following, as is shown in the formation of sects and groups who detached themselves from society and were often hostile to it. For them Yahweh's Law was the one perfect justice, and only through its observance could a community prosper: anyone who did not conform to the Law would be punished. But from this conclusion it was easy to take a further step and say that foreigners might be a valuable instrument in God's hands for summoning obstinate people back to obedience. So a teleological justification was provided for Israel's political decline, and a meaning was recognized even in terrible happenings such as loss of liberty, deportation, and exile among people who worshipped idols. Even more important was the reversal of the attitude adopted toward government policy some centuries earlier, when material success was considered to be God's just reward for a faithful people. Now the prophets' preaching led to the conclusion that for Yahweh's will to be done and his promises to be fulfilled it was necessary that Israel's temporal power be ruined. Only after such a catastrophe could the new story of God's true people begin.

The prophets' teaching is a typical expression of the Hebrews' religious mind, and it is futile to try to explain it in terms of related phenomena found among other peoples. Even more misleading is the view that it was a

vulgar way of imposing on men's credulity. If we make due allowance for pseudo-prophetic activity by professional soothsayers who made their own claims to divine missions, there remains no doubt that there was a numerous and reputable group of men 'called by God'.² By a sudden unexpected action of heaven (charisma) they were turned from their normal activities to become criers of a message, which they could not avoid delivering at those moments when they were under the divine influence. Moreover, even if they were not as individuals men of superior intelligence and wide culture (none the less they were all men of exemplary character and followed an ascetic life, sometimes of the most rigid kind), they enunciated certain great ideas, which have become part of the common inheritance of mankind. They made use of the language which they found most familiar, employing images and sentiments which would evoke a response from those around them, but they were not afraid to say things which were disagreeable or even apparently absurd. At first they confined themselves to speaking and preaching; on rare occasions, to be more effective, they employed symbolic actions too, and explained their significance. But later they wrote or dictated, and gave the world works of the most exalted poetry, with truth far beyond the particular content and situation which inspired it.

In a broad sense even Abraham and Moses can be considered prophets, but the golden age of Hebrew prophecy lasted from the eighth to the sixth centuries, when the ancient religion of Yahweh was undergoing transformation because Canaanite cult was being assimilated to it. It was therefore necessary to oppose the inclusion of observances which did not conform to the primitive Hebrew conception of religion, and to continue the religious tradition in its purest form. So on the one hand we find the prophets protesting against the orders of authority and expressing contempt for the growth of corruption: on the other hand we meet their insistent call for justice and humility of heart, their specific claims about the value of cult observances, and their strict warnings to respect the Covenant. But in this revival of primitive ways we already find—as so often in such movements—all the conditions needed for an advance forward; and in fact Hebrew religion after the exile was clearly much changed. Prophecies had revealed God's plans for his people, elucidating the true meaning of the Covenant between the Lord and the 'remnant' of Israel, and had even begun to speak of Him 'that should come' to found a Kingdom. Their material was valuable preparation for the new developments; and although it was full of rebukes and went on threatening heavy chastisements, it ended with a word of hope and gave a glimpse of a better world.

The work of the prophets lasted almost without interruption from Samuel in the eleventh century to Malachi in the fifth, but it is only from the eighth century that direct (i.e. primary) evidence about these 'charismatics' begins and provides us with a relative abundance of detailed knowledge. Without getting lost in long lists of names, we may mention some of the greater

prophets of the early period. In the ninth century lived Elijah ('Yahweh is my God'), a heroic ascetic who set himself against Queen Jezebel and the false priests of Baal and was accorded various visible and miraculous signs of God's good will; his successor was Elisha, who saw the end of the wicked house of Omri and the abolition of the Phoenician cult at the hands of the general Jehu. After these so-called 'prophets of action', in the middle of the eighth century, came the 'rhapsodes' or declaimers, who (as their name implies) warned the people by word of mouth and by writing to remain faithful to the Lord. These, in chronological order, were Amos and Hosea in the kingdom of Samaria, and Micah in the kingdom of Judah. Contemporary with Micah was Isaiah, born of aristocratic parentage at Jerusalem and called to his ministry in 738; he died, perhaps a martyr, in the days of the evil King Manasseh.

We may pass over some of the Minor Prophets, although the name is sometimes given only on account of the brevity of their surviving writings rather than because they were of little account in politics and religion. Mention must be made, however, of the great and humane Jeremiah, who was born near Jerusalem and elected prophet in 626. In the last phase of the tempestuous history of Judah he played a part³ which won him the reputation of being a defeatist and an enemy to his country, but after the catastrophe he was practically the only man who still tried to save what could be saved. He died, perhaps at the hands of his own countrymen, in Egypt, where he had continued his duties as prophet amid incomprehension and ridicule, supported only by his faithful secretary Baruch, a prophet like himself. With Ezekiel—who prophesied from 593 to about 570 in a Jewish colony of exiles in Babylonia we reach a new period, in which the so-called Deutero-Isaiah also belongs. Its features are an all-embracing monotheism, the concept of purification, insistence on the responsibility of individuals rather than of the community alone, and a movement towards personal religion, although at the same time the priesthood gained notably in power and prestige.

The last great prophet of the period of Exile was the semi-legendary Daniel, who enjoyed great favour at the Babylonian court and died in 536. After the Hebrews returned to their country the prophets' work was continued by Haggai, Zechariah, Joel, Obadiah, and Malachi.

In a work like this it is impossible to tackle the numerous and difficult problems arising from a close examination of the prophetic books of the *Old Testament*, on which various theories have been advanced, most of them markedly different from the beliefs of religious tradition. The sayings of the prophets were presumably put into writing, at least in part, by themselves or their disciples; but the compositions to which their names are given are largely collections drawn up later on certain definite principles. They are not an organic whole, and their transmission has produced significant differences between the Hebrew text and the Greek. Nevertheless nearly all these books are very lofty works of poetry which can be taken and read with

great spiritual pleasure. Interest never flags, and does not depend on the particular content or on references to events which were the contingent cause of the writing.

The *Book of Isaiah* excels in sublimity of doctrine, and contains Messianic prophecies of an impressive clarity. *Jeremiah* is richer in ethics and psychology, and has great historical value for the history of the last kings of Judah. The *Book of Lamentations* is a work on its own. But whoever was its author, it bears witness to a life of deep sorrow, which even in the midst of disillusioning happenings did not lose an unshakable faith in divine justice. The most serious problems of history, language, and interpretation are connected with the *Book of Daniel*, but a solution has been reached which steers a course between the extreme views of older scholars. The work in its present form, we may believe, was composed by an unknown author about 300 BC, collecting older documents some of which may even go back to Daniel himself.

Some of the Minor Prophets are hard to date precisely, and it is an open question whether some of the exploits attributed to them, such as Hosea's marriage or Jonah's adventures, are history or literary fiction. Significant in all of them, however, are the clear references to salvation by a Messiah and the frank advocacy of social justice, nor are they lacking in valuable references to historical events. Once again their pages enunciate the fundamental principles of Hebrew religion, such as loyalty to the Lord and the duty of observing his commands.

The idea of divinity which was Israel's own and which always characterized her people, was that of a single God, personal, eternal, and ever-present, who created the world. This is a conception different from that formed by any other people and it had decisive importance for all later religious history over a wide part of mankind. For their belief in a single God the Hebrews did not offer weighty philosophical proofs, partly because they were little drawn towards speculation, partly because their belief was an axiom from which they drew many conclusions in the field of morality and social life. Instead they took pleasure in criticizing polytheism and laughing at idolaters. They exalted the majesty and unapproachable grandeur of their God, but at the same time his contacts with man and his interest in his people. So, though they could not even say their God's name, they yet spoke of him with anthropomorphic imagery and attributed actions and feelings to him of an excessively human kind (though it is clear that these expressions ought to be given a metaphorical meaning and purpose, being designed to make men feel that God was near and to look on him as provident and good).

Among the various attributes of divinity that which most befits the Hebrew God is to be a just God: everything else must be set below the triumph of God's justice. History is the great field when God was at work, and in it we can see the struggle not only between the God of the Hebrews and the powers of evil, but also between God and his people, who were unceasingly

forgetful of the favours he had shown, or were attempting to follow idols. It was true that contact with Canaanite civilization had allowed some syncretist elements to creep into Hebrew religion. Yet the opposition only served to strengthen the idea of God's uniqueness; and it was the great achievement of the prophets in history to recall Israel to the purer monotheistic tradition, securing the continuity of the religion of Yahweh amid all surrounding dangers. But it was in this period of the prophets that the conception of divinity became much more spiritual, that ideas of life after death were formulated more clearly, and above all that a new great principle of Hebrew religion took shape and rapidly became more active, the idea of the Messiah with all the consequences it brought to so many branches of thought and action.

Since Yahweh is the true king and his Law is the supreme ordinance, the perfect state is one derived from God, which is governed according to the Lord's spirit and looks to the accomplishment of his kingdom. But at this point was posed a question. Who personified and interpreted God's will? Who had received an investiture which put him in a position to discharge a duty which was religious as well as political? In Israel there were two schools of thought from the period of the prophets onward. One wanted monarchy as an institution, believing it advantageous for the salvation of the Hebrew people. This school aimed to make the monarchy hereditary in order to give it stability and increase its power: the term used for this type of king is *melék*. The other school regarded such an institution as an attack on the absolute sovereignty of Yahweh, and continued to favour a *magid*, a 'charismatic' leader raised up by the divine spirit at the right moment to deal with a given situation.

The two schools went through periods of sharp dissension with intervals of tacit understanding. On the whole the great prophets were hostile to political powers and sometimes even launched most violent denunciations at the ruling house. Their reason was always the same: they became suspicious when faced with 'diplomatic' methods and with all the excessively worldly and temporal attitude characteristic of politicians, which they found lacking in confidence towards the Lord and in surrender to his will. Moreover the prophets were not troubled by the material ruin of Israel, since they saw in it a providential type of punishment and a recall to the 'rule of things of the spirit'.

As to the Hebrew monarchy, it had characteristics very like those seen in the kings of Babylonia.⁴ In neither institution was the sovereign regarded as a god, though he was invested with divine authority to carry out his functions. If anyone tried to be deified outright, he was immediately treated as a usurper. The king was not even chief priest: indeed the distinction between the two orders—civil and ecclesiastical—was most carefully maintained. Yet in certain circumstances the king would discharge cult tasks, and on very solemn occasions his position carried with it the duties of the priesthood

(so David bore the ark to Jerusalem and Solomon consecrated the temple). The priests looked after ordinary cult acts.

One characteristic of Hebrew religion was undoubtedly its collective outlook. Its chief task, that is to say, was to watch over the behaviour of an entire people towards the God who was its own God. The relation between man and the superior being was something public, resting on a definite fact, namely the covenant 'I am your God and you are my people'. In its turn the whole nation was regarded as a living organism, one might almost say as a person, sometimes falling away and being deservedly punished, at other times earning reward for its loyalty. In other words it was the community which principally benefited or suffered from the effect of divine plans for good or ill.

But is this the whole story? Was there no place in Hebrew religion for another more particular relationship, that between Yahweh and individual men? Perhaps some forms of intimate and personal piety were recognized as well.⁵ Some scholars have supposed a radical opposition between the two outlooks and imagined that the advent of individual religion in the time of the prophets, especially Jeremiah and Ezekiel, signified the end of community religion, since the new form contradicted the basic principle contained in 'I am the Lord your God'. This is not so. It is abundantly true that the personal side of religion is little developed in the biblical texts (i.e. in the *Pentateuch*, *Judges*, and *Kings*), because they had other purposes and concerns. But from them and other sources it is possible to discover various pointers to the place assigned to the individual in the general plan of salvation; they deal with his moral duties and duties of worship, and kindred matters.

Above all we can see that Hebrew monotheism included a specifically moral outlook, in the sense that belief in the existence of a single God—a personal and living Being who was creator and judge, holy and benign—implied a series of ethical conclusions, which found their codification in the Decalogue or in other sets of rules recurring throughout the Bible. The latter vary in number and content, but always express substantially the same principles. Hebrew ethic rested on justice and pity; and as Jesus later reminded the world in his own time, the commandment to love God and to love one's neighbour represented the whole conclusion of the Law and the Prophets together. Yet something which might seem to be a duty of charity was in substance no more than an act of justice, since what one gave to others was, according to God's commandment, what they had a right to have. We can now understand the legal tone which governed and pervaded all Hebrew morality, its best-known manifestation being the vast number of precepts, to which new rules of increasing minuteness were being added all the time. Once the 'Book of the Law' (perhaps *Deuteronomy*) was discovered in a cupboard of the temple by the priest Hilkiah in King Josiah's time (637–608), all religious life both public and private was regulated by this all-important text.

As in any religious system, the notion of retribution is found among the

Hebrews, being attested clearly by passages of the *Old Testament*. Yet its significance changed markedly as time went on, and it is fair to claim that we can witness a genuine *développement*, which eventually revealed the fundamental concept of distributive justice. This was due to the fact that other ideas were changing too, ideas about the nature of the soul, eternal happiness; and life after death. For centuries the Hebrews had no notion of a future life and no belief in retribution beyond the grave: the just man survived no differently from the unjust, the faithful no differently from the sinner. Reward and punishment were given by God on earth, in the shape of happiness or misfortune, in accordance with rigid consistency and strict justice: 'the fathers have eaten a sour grape and the children's teeth are set on edge.' (*Jeremiah*, xxxi. 29; *Ezekiel*, xviii. 2). This was another reason, it may be said in passing, why all ascetic mysticism was foreign to Hebrew mentality: to enjoy the blessings created by God, and within limits to satisfy man's natural instincts, was the logical consequence of the principle that success was a sign of divine approval.

The above quotation and many other passages which may easily come to mind show that in this matter too collective religion was the dominant form. The sanction applied was a common sanction, rewards and punishments being awarded not for the behaviour of individuals but for that of the community. Personal recompense, given for the failings or merits of the individual, was only taken into account much later; and even when a concept of that kind was formulated, it was confined at first to recompense in this world along strict principles of retaliation. But then there was too easy an objection. In the majority of cases it could be seen that on earth the just man suffered and the unjust man rejoiced: good was often vanquished and evil triumphed. Though this rule might be proved wrong within the complete picture of a people's history, it was unfortunately true practically without exception if only the limited existence of individuals was considered. So fresh and vast views were opened for reflection by Hebrew thinkers and prophets, and at this stage new ideas found a place in their thought, although they held firm to the concept of Yahweh's absolute and infinite justice, so firmly rooted in the Hebrew people. The new ideas⁶ were individual retribution beyond the grave and the resurrection of the body. All humanity could thus participate in a new state of life, which was the fruit of actions body and soul had committed together during their first existence.

But we must not forget another strand which runs through all Hebrew thinking about problems of religion and ethics, although it has something of mystery about it. This is the doctrine of sin, original and personal, and the connected doctrines of atonement and forgiveness. From reading the Bible one certainly sees that its various authors were conscious, however vaguely, of the existence of sin, and tended to derive it either from intervention by superhuman powers of evil or from individual free will. To recreate the equilibrium which sin has destroyed, or (if we look at the matter in the



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15 ARCHAIC SCULPTURE, III

'The Rape of Europa', c. 550 BC. Metope from a temple, Selinus, Sicily

16 ARCHAIC SCULPTURE, IV

(a) *The Nike of Delos. Athens National Museum*

(b) *Korai, votive statue, c. 540 BC. Athens National Museum*



(a)

[Hellenic



[Hellenic

terms considered so far) to renew the Covenant between Israel and Yahweh, it was originally enough to make a sacrifice of atonement. But here too an attitude of greater intimacy tended to prevail in later times, and it was seen that repentance was necessary to obtain God's forgiveness, and that what mattered most was the new spirit in which the various actions of individuals were now performed.

Phoenician religion will be considered with Punic (see pp. 242 ff.).

d. *Egypt*

For the general ideas of Egyptian religion and an outline of its history we refer the reader back to Volume I.⁷ But we may note here that from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards its very complex features still remained after thousands of years of development, deriving as they did from the amalgamation of pantheons originally conceived in a variety of regions. The later syncretisms took account of divine forms and attributes which were often misleading; and the theogonies with their systematic hierarchies and family trees were too numerous and superficial to make matters any simpler. The intention had been to establish links and identities between divinities of a standard type, such as material objects (fetishes, animals, and plants), gods in human form, cosmic elements, or abstract concepts (sentiments, and personifications of events or places). But many of these divine figures were independent of one another, and the differences between them were the product of different regional origins.

In our period certain tendencies should be noted, some of them of spontaneous growth in Egypt, others due to the influence of traders, mercenaries, and subject peoples. In the official cult the attempt to reconcile the restored religion of Ammon with an opposition centred on the Pharaohs, who worshipped Ra, Ptah, and Set, led men to regard divinity as something unknowable, mysterious, and not to be personified. As in their literature, art, and other activities of the spirit, the Egyptians of this period display much greater directness of expression in their religion. There is a feeling towards mysticism and passion, an attempt to get closer to the mysterious god who works in all things, and really to live one's religion: we find this attitude even among lower classes. By imagining a divinity who was perfect, and who consequently was patient with imperfect men, one could find a deeper communion with one's god. The dramatic and mysterious myth of Osiris and Isis, which was re-enacted by the initiate's symbolic death, his journey to the lower world, and his resurrection, took such hold on men's minds that it soon attracted the attention of Greek thinkers (and later of Romans): in the fifth century Herodotus (II, 87) claimed that the Egyptians were the most religious people in the world. Meanwhile the worship of animals had a quaint revival, giving rise later to the probably fictitious story of the Persian conqueror Cambyses committing outrage when he killed the god Apis. There was also an exceptional growth of astrology, magic, fortune-telling,

superstition, and legends about gods on earth. Demotic literature bristles with magic formulae. They gave a new theme to the 'Books of the Dead', though these books retained so much that was traditional. The dead man is shown the prescription for magical responses which will enable him to escape the consequences of the 'weight on his soul'; for when it enters the kingdom of Osiris the soul will have to evade the unfavourable verdicts of forty-two judges on his sins.

The priesthood of Ammon at Thebes was ambitious of power and its rivalry with the various dynasties is a vital element in the history of the country. Under the Twentieth Dynasty an understanding was reached between the priests and the Delta rulers, under which the queen, as well as the chief priest's wife, became 'adorer of the god'. Under the Twenty-first Dynasty, which was formed by a priest of Thebes, the duties of Pharaoh and priest tended to accumulate within a single family. Later the support of the Theban priests was what decided the fate of the Libyan and Nubian Pharaohs. The dissension began again under the Saites, but was healed once more when Psammetichus I (663-609) had the title of 'adorer of the god' conferred on his own daughter.

e. *The religion of the Indo-Europeans: India*

The only Indian religion known to us in this period is the Vedic. We have no direct acquaintance with those Munda, Dravidian, and other non-Aryan cults which profoundly affected Aryan religion and contributed to its transformation into Brahmanism and later into Hinduism, since they in turn disappeared before the expansion of the larger religion (or at least pursued a wretched existence as popular creeds in small areas).

Vedic religion is known to us through its sacred writings, the four *Veda*, rounded off by the earliest exegetic literature (especially the *Brāhmaṇas*). It is essentially a ritualistic religion, with little ethical content, designed to obtain earthly happiness and prosperity by means of invocation and propitiation of the various deities, above all by sacrifice (*yajña*).

Rigvedic mythology was naturalistic, but not purely so. Natural phenomena were always personified, and sometimes at least the reverse seems to happen, i.e., the myth of a divinity was modelled on natural phenomena. The gods were usually imagined in human form, though there were endless ways of doing this.⁸ No attempt to classify the amorphous pantheon received general recognition, the number of thirty-three major gods being a later conception. The best-known classification is that into gods of earth, air, and heaven made in *Rigveda*, I, 139, 11. Features common to these gods are anthropomorphism, immortality, benign nature (except Rudra, to some extent), and a certain absence of clear-cut individuality and distinct characteristics. The main celestial deities were as follows. Varuṇa was originally the god of the vault of the sky covering and embracing all things, guardian of the moral and cosmic order (*ṛta*) and ethical king of the world; but he was

always connected with the waters and the ocean, and this aspect was more firmly emphasized as time went on. Then there were Sūrya, god of the sun; Savitr, the golden god, often confused with Sūrya; Uṣas, the dawn; the twin gods called Asvin or Nāsatya, gods of the morning, whose aid was invoked in time of need and who were therefore also gods of medicine; and among minor divinities we already find Viṣṇu, perhaps the symbol of the apparent motions of the sun. Of the gods of air the most important was Indra, the main R̥gvedic god, who let loose the cosmic waters but was above all the god of war, a great warrior and a great devourer, depicted as a cheerful and blustering giant with features which are often grotesque. There were also the Maruts, gods of storms; Vāyu, the wind; Parjanya, the cloud heavy with rain; and among secondary gods there was Rudra, the terrific god. The principal gods of earth were two personifications of ingredients essential in sacrifice, Agni, the fire (especially in its ritual aspect), and Soma, the sacrificial juice of the plant called by that name. Over against the gods stood their eternal enemies, the demons, of whom the Asuras were foremost.

For cosmological ideas see pp. 245 ff. below.

Ideas of an after-life are still crude. The dead man enters the kingdom of Yama, god of the other world, as if into a kind of paradise of milk and honey mainly material in conception, which is attainable by correct ritual. Some hymns seem to refer to a kind of hell. But in fact these were problems of little interest to Vedic bards. The R̥gvedic man thought mainly about this world, was pleased to be alive and enjoyed his life, and cared only for happiness on earth, a long life, health, riches, many sons, victory over his enemies, and so on.

So his religion was utilitarian, a contract in the form *do ut des* in which man offered sacrifice to god to obtain material prosperity.

Another very different side of Vedic religion is found in the *Atharvaveda*. This collection, although it was compiled after the earlier *Veda* and added to them, contains some material which is not later than the *R̥gveda*, but belongs to a different religious world. In it the magical and popular aspects of Vedism are emphasized. The ruling mentality is that of the popular magician or miracle-worker, and the hymns are mainly magic formulae designed to secure the reciter's wishes by means of the power they contain. So the gods take a lower place, the scope of Atharvanic formulae being to pacify demons, bless one's friends, and curse one's enemies.

The philosophic content of the *Atharvaveda* is by no means negligible, and it is interesting to observe a monotheistic streak when Prajāpati is accepted as the supreme creator of the universe. But taken as a whole the *Atharvaveda* hymns do not move in the direction of the philosophical advances of later ages, but carry us down to the amorphous mass of popular superstitions and beliefs.

In the other two *Veda* (*Yajurveda* and *Samaveda*) ritualism reigns supreme. The rite acquires an increasing importance because it has the power to compel

the god to grant the favour requested. So precise execution of the rite is more important than the moods and will of the god himself. Rite commands and the god obeys. This ritual grew increasingly advanced and complicated, until it became necessary for anyone wanting to perform a rite (*yajamāna*) to employ a professional priest, who alone was capable of executing all the minute particulars correctly. This applies to domestic rites (*grhya*), but above all to the major sacrifices (*śrauta*), in which fire was the chief element. The texts recited at the sacrifice are collected in these two *Veda*, and the ritual is codified in the vast though arid literature of the *Brāhmaṇa*. It is enough to say that the priests were divided into four categories. One was led by the *hotṛ*, who chose the hymns to be sung during the sacrifice and invoked the gods to be present at it. The second was under the *udgaṛ* or singer, who chanted or sang the hymns. The third leader was the *adhvaryu* or executant, who carried out the physical actions and murmured the sacred formulae in prose. And the fourth was the Brahman, who surveyed the whole performance to prevent mistakes, and recited formulae to protect the sacrificial act and atone for such mistakes if they were committed. In fact the smallest mistake invalidated the rite and could bring ruin instead of prosperity on the *yajamāna*. The sacrifice could be bloodless, in which case the holy liquor *soma* played the chief part in it; or it was accompanied by blood, on some occasions going as far as human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*). Prajāpati appears as the chief divinity, lord of creation and god of sacrifice, but beside him is Rudra, the terrific god who accepts the material offering made. The cosmology of the *Brāhmaṇas* divided the universe into three zones, earth, intermediate space (*antarikṣa*), and sky. The earth was circular and rested on the ocean, which covered all space. Among philosophical advances that most pregnant for the future was the theory that a virtuous man after his death is born again in a place of delight and an evil man in a place of torment, as the automatic result of actions committed during their lives. In addition the idea took shape that these rewards and punishments were not eternal, but came to an end when the effect of the actions had been exhausted. So in embryo we have the theory of *karman* (action as an automatic cause of retribution in after-life) and *saṃsārā*, the unceasing cycle of births and deaths, the alternating phases being due to *karman* and to the exhaustion of its effects.

So into the orbit of the ancient, optimistic, and naturalistic paganism of the Aryans there entered an outside speculative element; for its origin was probably non-Aryan.⁹ This element gradually penetrated deeply into Vedic religion. Although it left its forms, its pantheon, and its ritual intact, it deprived them of their content and substituted one which was completely different, being speculative and pessimistic. This process of penetration is the very essence in the history of early Indian thought. Aryan religion was hollowed out, and its shell was refilled with a new and non-Aryan fruit. The eventual result was Brahmanism, and after it Hinduism.

Very soon the excessive ritualism of the *Brāhmaṇas*, with its aridity and

the power it conferred on the religious class, inevitably led to movements of protest and reaction. Two of these, Buddhism and Jainism, started new religions and will be dealt with in later chapters. Others stayed within the fold of the old religion, helped by its extreme adaptability and capacity for compromise.

The malcontents were mainly to be found among the *kṣattriya*, although there were Brahmans too. From their speculations was born the great philosophical school of the *Upaniṣad*, so called from the name given to their writings. *Upaniṣad* thought is absolute monism, contained in the recognition of unity between the individual principle (*ātman*) with the cosmic principle or essence of the universe (*brāhmaṇ*). As the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI, 8–16) puts it in sublimely pithy terms, 'tat tvam asi', meaning 'thou art that' (i.e. the All). Other basic concepts are *prāṇa* (later fivefold), meaning breathing as the external manifestation of *ātman*; *māyā*, not in the later sense of illusion, but meaning the force which prevents *ātman* from recognizing its true nature; and *karman* as the source and regulator of rewards and punishments. Moreover the idea of *saṃsārā* was taken farther, and a corollary was evolved that even in the periods of paradise which *saṃsārā* could confer it was itself an evil: the only true, ultimate, and supreme happiness consisted in liberation from it (*mokṣa*). So the *Upaniṣad* contain abstract speculations, but also a practical method of salvation, namely the way of securing *mokṣa*. This is possible only through knowledge, through the recognition of the unity between *brāhmaṇ* and *ātman*. Ascetic practices could help, but knowledge is the one true way, and sacrifice is no good. The path of knowledge (*jnāñāmārga*) diverges utterly and deliberately from that of the sacrificial act (*karmamārga*).

Yet by the side of Upanisadic thought the old ritualistic strain was for a long time continued in the *Sūtras*, brief texts which are condensed and laconic almost to the point of being unintelligible and which were intended to be mnemonic aids for oral teaching. In them the trend revealed by the *Brāhmaṇas* is carried to its logical conclusion: the deity almost vanishes, and sacrifice becomes an infallible magical means of obtaining one's desires.

f. The Iranians

Just as the monotheistic religion of Moses was a reaction against an earlier polytheism, so Zoroastrian dualism was preceded and also accompanied by polytheistic ideas which eventually pervaded it. Herodotus (I, 131) understood the position when he spoke of Persian polytheism. It must in its early stages have been very like the Indian religion found in the *Veda*.

The reformer was called Zarathustra ('the man of the old camels'), a name drawn from the pastoral life from which he sprang: compare his father's name Pourousapsa ('the man of the grey horses'). Parsee tradition puts him 300 years before Alexander, about 640 BC in round figures; but Xanthus of Lydia, an historian of the mid-fifth century BC, puts him 600 years before

Xerxes (486-465), which would take him back to the eleventh century. The latter date is certainly too early, but it ill accords with the attempt of some modern scholars to date him as late as the sixth or fifth century, which is in any case refuted by the archaic language of the *Gātha*. So the prince Vistaspa who favoured him is unlikely to have been either Hystaspes, father of Darius I, or Astyages, who reigned from 585 to 550, but was more probably the Persian Teipses, who was king from c. 675 to 640. The seventeen hymns of the *Gātha*, said by the *Avesta* to have been composed by Zarathustra, only give us summary notes on his life. His early preaching, as priest of the family of Spitames, had little effect owing to the resistance of priests of the ancient cults; he had few disciples apart from his own son and uncle, and also met with opposition from the court. The dialect of the *Gātha* would suggest that he came from central Asiatic north-east Iran, though some scholars say north-west. Tradition, however, says he was born at Ramay near Teheran, in Media: and it was in fact there that he found supporters in the 'Magi', whether this name originally denotes a tribe, like the Hebrew tribe of Levi, or whether they were a special priesthood among the Medes.

Zarathustra created a religious, philosophical, and ethical system designed to bring man and the world to salvation. It ordained belief in a single god, Ahura Mazdah ('the lord who knows'), in all probability an ancient god whom the polytheistic period had regarded as supreme deity of the heavens. Zarathustra made him the one founder and guide of the universe, the good spirit from whom six abstract entities (the Sacred Immortals) emanate. The six are truth (or right thought), good will and holy piety, chosen sovereignty, meekness (or perfect law), integrity, and immortality; and they fight by Ahura Mazdah's side against the anti-god or evil spirit, Ahriman. This enemy was aided by the *Daeva* (the ancient gods debased to become demons): evil thought, lies, misgovernment, rebellion, infirmity, and death. All the world pivots round the struggle between the good and the evil spirit—the moral and the practical world alike: for example the conflict between peaceful farmers and the robbers who lay waste their fields is an emanation of the great struggle. So we get a series of prohibitions laid on all actions through which the spirit of evil might gain the victory (for example on killing animals, using them as sacrificial victims, or failing to care for them), together with injunctions to do good works and fight the allies of the evil spirit, such as robbers, animals of prey, or poisonous plants. The ultimate goal of this hard struggle was the triumph of the good, with reward of the virtuous and punishment of the wicked. The new cult also brought a reduction in ancient Indo-Aryan ceremonies and ritual, together with the exclusion of stimulating drink (*haoma*) and of sacrifices attended by blood. The rites of the purifying fire persisted: it was kept continually burning in the 'room of fire' under surveillance by the priests, and had to be kept far away from any possible impurity.

In the *Avesta*, a work drawn up by the Magi in the Achaemenid period, we

find a later phase of Zoroastrianism, which after it had been adopted by the Achaemenid Darius I¹⁰ and his successors was transformed into Mazdaism. The innovations stand out fairly clearly. The most obvious is that in the divine plan reflected in the *Avesta* a number of figures from the old polytheistic pantheon reappear by the side of Ahura Mazda. These are either 'venerable' good spirits, like the sun-god Mithras, the spirit of fertility Anāhitā, the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, and Sirius), the elements (water and wind), and the protecting spirits of ancestors (Fravasi); or they are *Daeva*, evil spirits, like Indra, Saurva, or Nanhaithya. This probably resulted from a reaction against the new religion from popular beliefs still preserved in regions to which Zoroastrianism had spread; and a further cause was the religious toleration practised by the Achaemenid kings, despite such purist opposition from the Magi as we find in Gaumata's revolt. A remarkable instance of the new development is found on Darius I's official documents, where as well as of Ahura Mazda mention is made of the 'other gods we possess' (Mithras and Anāhitā), without even any reference to Zarathustra. At the same time emphasis was placed on the division of the real world into the two categories of Goods (oxen, dogs, plants, and metals) and Bads (wolves, serpents, and so on): man stands in the middle, being free to choose evil or to follow good according to divine precepts. All the eschatological ideas of Mazdaic religion were given shape in the Mithraic mystery rites of initiation. Three days after death the human soul, with special protection in the case of initiates, must present himself at the bridge Cinvat ('the divider') for judgement by Mithras, Sraosa, and Rasnu; the souls of the good succeed in crossing the bridge to enter the heavens of Ahura Mazda (paradise), while those of the wicked find the bridge shrinking to become just a thread, and so fall into the abyss (hell). But the states of souls after judgement are not eternal, since all will be brought to an end by a mighty purification started by a great fire, and then men will rise again to immortal life.

Ritual, too, was becoming complicated once more. For instance, the spirit of the stimulant drink *haoma* was admitted as a good spirit again, and the rites of the purifying fire became more intricate. The number of priesthoods was increased to deal with these rites, and priesthoods were made hereditary. Moreover to avoid impurities harming either the fire or the earth, a definite prohibition was placed on cremation as well as on burial of the dead. Bodies had to be exposed in the 'towers of silence' until their flesh had worn away, and then the skeletons were placed in ossuaries near by.

g. Greeks

Primitive Greek religion was established in the Hellenic peninsula by the first invasions of the Chalcolithic period, crossed to the Aegean and the Asiatic coast in the Mycenaean Age, and entered the colonial areas in the period c. 800–500 B.C. It involved the worship of divinities of the most diverse origin. Like other Indo-European peoples the Greeks, before they reached

their final homes, were venerating various objects: inanimate things, animals and plants, phenomena on earth (seas, rivers, springs, woods, volcanoes, and caves), cosmic phenomena (sun, moon, the starry firmament, day, and night), and meteoric phenomena (such as winds, eclipses, and rain). They would also regard as divine any object or action which seemed miraculous or animated by some inward power (Lat. *anima*). Clearly, however, many of these divine beings, if they appeared to have no universal character, were destined to be forgotten even before the migration was over, or perhaps to be replaced by others more appropriate to their new homes. So there are few Greek gods which should be reckoned as palaeo-Hellenic, dating back to the early days of the invasion of the peninsula: they include Zeus, Gē-meter, Poseidon, Hermes, Helios, Ares, Eos, and Hestia. The other divinities venerated in historical times are for the most part of different origin. Many quite certainly derive from the earlier inhabitants of the country, both gods responding to primitive ideas of worship paid to animals, plants, and inanimate objects, and the more advanced anthropomorphic type of god. This can be proved either by names of non-Greek etymology or by corresponding types of cult existing in the Minoan Age: an example of the former is Hyakinthos, examples of the latter are Athena, Dictynna, Britomartis, and Persephone. The same phenomenon naturally recurred in the colonies of Asia Minor, Thrace, and other areas, where the Greeks took over such gods as Apollo, Aphrodite, Hephaistos, Bacchos, and Sabazios.

But many other divinities were creations of the Greeks themselves in their new homes, and for the most part had local significance only, representing natural phenomena, objects or concepts peculiar to these places, such as streams, caverns, or springs. Sometimes an isolated epithet would give rise to a new divinity. In the end the pantheon presented different peculiarities in each region, even in each city and small settlement.

This period of differentiation and regionalism may perhaps have lasted more than a thousand years, but it was followed by a converse period, one of syncretism, identification, and selection. The first impulse came when the politico-religious leagues were formed in Greece and Asia Minor, and when the more powerful cities began to extend their hegemonies, since this presented an opportunity for comparing the divinities of one area with those of another with which it had come in contact. It was then found that deities representing the self-same concepts were being worshipped in several places under names which were wholly or partly different—deities of the firmament, the sun, moon, sea, fertility of crops, and so on. Eventually these figures would be syncretized into one single divinity comprising all the variations. This procedure is found, for example, in the so-called 'Homeric Hymn to Apollo'.

Factors contributing to the selection of a definite number of major gods who would be common to all were the Homeric epic, the great sanctuaries which attracted Greeks from every country to their ceremonies, and the sacred leagues formed round famous places of worship. The Homeric poems

had their birth in Asia Minor, where federations of the kind which encouraged syncretism came earlier than elsewhere; and they were directed at the polished aristocracies all over the Greek world, who came to regard Homer as 'the Book' and had little interest in ruder cults of a popular kind or in divine figures which lacked human form and had no life. These men liked to see the major gods united as they were themselves, in a family with a clearly drawn genealogy and a hierarchy. The sacred *genos* of the immortals in Hesiod's *Theogony* is illustrative.

Some of these major divinities also owed their establishment to the worship paid them by members of the sacred leagues, and to celebrations at their most famous sanctuaries during the great festivals. These were held at regular intervals for games and religious purposes, and they drew Greeks even from the most distant parts. The festival of Zeus at Olympia was celebrated at least as early as 776 BC; and there were regular festivals to Zeus in the Nemea valley near Phlius, to Poseidon at Corinth, to Apollo at Delphi,¹¹ and others besides (the operation of the oracular cult is discussed later).

In contrast to this small number of great gods who were recognized by all Greeks there were still very many other divine beings with local cults, whose worship and divinity were not acknowledged outside a narrow area. This was the position with heroes and demi-gods, or with the sons and relatives of gods, who were believed to have lived on earth in bygone days. There was in point of fact a kind of theological consideration which differentiated them from gods. One could indicate the tombs of many of them, precisely because they went back to very ancient times, when the idea of a dying god was generally accepted, or because they were gods of the underworld connected with some cavern; sometimes there was even a skeleton, though generally this arose from childish confusion with the fossilized bones of some large animal. Yet for the Greeks of more advanced civilization a mortal god had become an absurdity, so these deities were classified down to become heroes. Naturally in epic, heroes deriving from fallen divinities mingle with kings who have attained divinity by their deeds and their sovereignty, but also with fictitious personages created by the poet's fancy. Yet the former class, the one which concerns us at present, can easily be picked out by the fact that all its members, in an area sometimes large and sometimes relatively small, were still regarded as gods and received a cult. As to some of the older naturalistic cults of animals, plants, and so on, their deities when they attained human shape gave rise to curious myths about metamorphoses: the actual passage from inanimate to animate being was turned upside down, and it was made to seem that a being in human shape had been turned to stone or into an animal or plant.

Another dualism can be detected in Greek religion, at any rate after the monarchical period: the relation between public and private cults, even though they were often amalgamated and intertwined. In general the official cult of a city was concerned with the dozen or so major deities of 'poliad' or

Homeric status, while private cults could more easily be directed to those minor deities who had sunk to hero status in other parts of Greece. The specific links between groups of people and particular divinities were of various origins. As a rule a family might claim to have had one or more divine personages as its founders, and would therefore look on them as its special protectors. Sometimes a phratry or 'personal' tribe or *genos* had taken a divine being as its patron. Again one or more private individuals might seek guidance from a prophetic god and place their fate in his hands. Or lastly an unofficial party of people might be initiated into the secret rites of a god.

We have already noticed the importance of oracles in promoting the cult of certain gods. The divine predictions of oracles, an exalted kind of divination, had a very early history in the Greek world as elsewhere; but they appealed mainly to the common people, and consequently the Homeric poems, which were addressed to the aristocratic élites, say practically nothing about them. There is some mention of diviners, and the oracles of Pytho (Delphi) get an incidental reference in *Iliad* IX and *Odyssey* VIII, while there are allusions to these answers in the Homeric Hymns to Apollo Delius and Apollo Pythius. In contrast the responses were valued greatly by the many emigrants who consulted them about colonization projects in the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, and by such people as sailors and traders—private citizens of every kind rather than states. So there were oracles served by their own colleges of priests: these existed to some extent in every part of Greece, both in Asia Minor where there were inspired prophets, and in the peninsula, where prophetesses were commoner. They were connected with the cult of Zeus at Dodona and Olympia, and with the cults of Hera, Aphrodite, Amphiaraus, Athena, Dionysus, Heracles, Asclepius, Pluton (Hades), Poseidon, Trophonius, and so on. But Apollo was the god chiefly concerned, for besides his famous shrines at Delphi, Delos, and Claros near Colophon we know of at least twenty-six other oracular temples.

Some cities, such as Athens and Sparta, had special interpreters of Delphic oracles; but there were also 'exegetes' (Chresmologoi), who interpreted oracles on request, a famous example being the Athenian Onomacritus in Peisistratid times. They were responsible also for various collections of oracles, some true, some bogus, which they attributed to ancient prophets of both history and legend. The poets now began to compose 'lives' of these gods in human shape and to suggest syncretisms between the god of one place and that of another. The more success they had, the more men longed to probe deeply into the shape of their gods, and to understand their precise pedigrees and successions, which hitherto had been treated in episodes and fragments with endless inconsistencies. It was essential, too, to understand the references to them in epic and religious poetry, to strengthen the links between gods and demi-gods, and between both of them and the traditional founders of great families. All this sprang from a desire to get the genealogies clear, but it had political and historical importance too. We find the first

examples in Epic. *Iliad* VI lists the descendants of Sisyphus, *Iliad* II the successive holders of the sceptre of Agamemnon, and *Odyssey* XI the famous women. The *Titanomachia* and the *Epigonoï* provide other instances. But a fuller attempt at a catalogue comes first in the didactic works ascribed to Hesiod. The *Theogony*, a work of rather over a thousand lines many times revised by later hands, begins with a long list of gods, of which the first are the three primeval divinities, Chaos, Gaia, and Eros, all arranged in their order of time and put into genealogical trees. This list, which follows an organic plan, is interspersed with 'medallions' constructed in greater detail—the birth of Aphrodite, the episode of the Styx, the hymn to Hecate, the Prometheus myth, the Titanomachia, and stories about Zeus.

The last lines of the *Theogony* tell of heroes born of unions between goddesses and mortals; and their logical sequel is provided in the so-called 'Hesiodic catalogues', part of which is a list of mortal women loved by gods. These catalogues are really lists of heroes, regarded as founders of noble Greek families, who are provided with their ancestries on both the divine and the mortal side, a sort of Panhellenic Almanach de Gotha for the various clans.

All primitive peoples, provided they had learned to till the soil, were struck by the phenomenon of Nature, which 'dies' every winter, and every spring is 'born anew'. Perhaps no other cult has occurred independently to so many different people, though the ways in which the myth is told and the order of its ceremonies have been altered by contacts between one people and another. The cult of Mother Earth, including the marvellous re-creation of Nature, existed among Indo-Europeans before they dispersed: compare the Greek Demeter with the Latin Ceres, the Siculan Gereatis, the Celtic and British goddesses who were later syncretized with Demeter and Korē (Strabo, IV, p. 198), and similar conceptions among the Germans. Fresh impulse was given to these very ancient cults among the Greeks when the rustic peasant class, who had naturally preserved them, acquired greater importance with the development of social life.

On the other hand belief in a human soul, the 'vital' breath which survives after it has been separated from the body, and the conviction that the soul exists in a life beyond the grave, are also very ancient concepts, as is proved by the funeral rites of various peoples. With the development of moral ideas of right and wrong it became possible to believe that there was more than one form of life after death. Not all men had a pale existence less desirable than their life on earth, but the man who had led a just life passed into happiness when he died and had his after-life crowned by the supreme reward of resurrection. As early as *Odyssey* XI we have a list of those punished in the nether world, and the list has a moral background. The analogy eventually became clear between the death and subsequent resurrection of the gods of vegetation on the one hand and on the other the fate the human soul desired in another world.

A third element, the mystery ceremonies, taught men ways of removing the stains on the soul, in order to free it from the influence of demons, conquer fate, and in the end procure happiness in another world and the prize of resurrection. This knowledge came from a divine and secret revelation, given by the lords of the underworld, fashioners of the miracle of rebirth in nature, to their faithful people, who were gradually initiated to receive it. Here too the ideas were born independently in many regions; for it is equally impossible to prove that the Greeks took them wholesale from other people, such as the Egyptians, as it is to show that they themselves originated them and passed them on. Yet there may have been syncretism, such as that probably created by the Greek colonists at Naucratis between Greek Demeter and Egyptian Isis.

On the one side, then, the cult of the underworld gods was connected with the miracle of death and rebirth in vegetation, on the other with the world of human souls beyond the grave. At some point in the history of ideas the two elements united, revealing the secret links which the miracle of nature had with the problem of the human soul's salvation. So were invented the rites of initiation into various grades, whereby the initiate learned mystic secrets which he undertook to reveal to no one, on pain of terrible profanation. Initiates had to undergo symbolically the sequence of death, journey to the underworld, and resurrection to a new life. In the second phase of this sequence they attained to knowledge of hidden truths, being shown sacred representations of the divine myth, seeing and touching sacred objects, and partaking of sacrificial food, all under the influence of intoxicating drink or during a trance.

Some of these cults were concerned with the process of generation and evolved the new mystery ideas along lines of their own, without coming under any exotic influences. This was true of the mysteries of Demeter and Korē, who at Eleusis, originally a Neolithic cult site, were joined with other divinities (Pluton, Hecate, Triptolemus, and Iacchus). The first reference to this cult is in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (line 476). The mysteries of Hecate at Aegina, of Demeter Hagne at Andania in Messenia, and of Lycon in Arcadia were probably on similar lines. Others again were the result of syncretism between Greek and non-Greek concepts. Examples are the Cabeiric mysteries at Erythrae, where Demeter and Korē, Hades and Hermes, were joined with the Kyrbantes; the mysteries of Zeus Idaeus in Crete; or those of Cybele, Attis, and the Magna Mater in Phrygia and neighbouring parts.

The mystery cult of Dionysus must have arisen spontaneously in Greece, as one can see from such evidence as the name Dionysus Mystes at Tegea in Arcadia.¹² But when Greek colonies were founded on the coast of Thrace there was syncretism with the crude, fierce, exciting legends current among the natives—the myths of Zagreus, devoured by the Titans, and Sabazios. The sacred representations of the complex Dionysiac story, with its alternation

of sorrow and joy in his death and rebirth, were later of great importance in the evolution of dramatic literature (see Chapter VI).

In the age of tyranny a reaction set in, or perhaps one should rather call it an improvement of the wild Dionysiac cult. This was brought about by 'Orphism', the origin of which is placed far back in time by certain spurious sources, but should probably be brought down to the last half of the sixth century and connected with the colonial policy of the Peisistratids.¹³ The Orphic theogony, which in part follows but in part diverges from that of Hesiod, derives mankind from the Titans and by this means explains the inheritance of sin and guilt which it possesses. But the Orphics sought to satisfy their inward aspiration to climb higher, to purify themselves, and get free from the great struggle, so that they might live their religion both spiritually and morally. They wanted to be different from the rude followers of Dionysus, according to the saying 'Those who bear the thyrsus are many, but those who are inspired are few'. They longed to free the soul from its prison in the body, and hoped that their communion rites would help to make them one with Zagreus, the god of sorrow who was torn in pieces by the Titans. So by abstaining from meat, and by purity and faith, they might attain that health which the soul can reach after three successive existences in the bodies of men and animals, and after that take their seats among the gods, while the souls of non-initiates go to Hades and there lie in the mud. The funeral rites of Orphics also became more spiritual. The souls of the dead need no tombs with rich furnishing, but only a tablet inscribed with the dead man's name, and a prayer that he be well received in Hades, together with some topographical information to enable him to find his way.

This theory of man's salvation had its prophets, singers, sorcerers, ascetics, preachers, and men who published oracles in verse. The last produced both genuine and spurious work. Examples are Onomacritus, the friend of the Peisistratids who composed poems attributed to Musaeus, and Epimenides, who is said by Plato to have visited Athens in 500 B.C.¹⁴

Many Orphic ideas were later taken up by the Pythagoreans (see pp. 147, 249 ff.).

h. Romans

Roman religion is much more primitive than that in contemporary Greece, because it developed more slowly and was therefore still close to the religion of the Indo-Europeans at the time of their dispersion. We know more about it than about that of other Italic peoples of the same racial family, but they too remained at the same level as the Romans before all of them came under the influence of Greek, Etruscan, and Punic cults.

Their main concern, to some extent a remarkable one, was with countless *numina* affecting particular moments of man's life (*indigitamenta*), each of which had a limited field of activity and showed itself in an isolated phenomenon, a single action, or a definite object in nature. There were *numina*

concerned with particular operations in farming, particular moments in the process of giving milk to babies, and so on. Others, for example, protected the gates or gateposts. There were sacred stones, such as meteorites, thunder-bolts, the 'lapis manalis' and other components of amulets, or boundary-marks; and reverence was also given to certain columns, spears, and shields. There were *numina*, too, in animals which were considered to be ancestors of particular portions of mankind or which were venerated on account of their supposed good or ill will towards man, such as wolves and woodpeckers; and there were *numina* in healing or poisonous plants, such as figs, mountain ash, lotus, and beech; and also in trees struck by lightning. *Numina* belonged to harmful phenomena, under names such as Lua, Robigo, Febris, Pavor, Pallor. The majority were identified with the actual object in which they were involved, or with the action they provoked. They were obscure forces, with little or no personality or descriptive background, venerated because their effects had been felt. If their cult was neglected, or if they were roused by magic, they could become unfriendly, and it was therefore essential to placate them by all possible means.

But besides these innumerable forces which operated within narrow limits there were others called *praecipuae*, which seemed more important because connected with phenomena of wide effect. They acquired personalities from the scope of their activities, and also from characteristics which clearly linked them with other divinities belonging to distinct natural phenomena. Examples are Juppiter (Iovis), god of the sky in day-time, lord of the thunder-bolt, who fertilizes the earth with rain and takes special care of the cultivation of upland districts, such as vineyards; Juno, goddess of the night sky, of new moons and procreation; Diana, the moon goddess, guardian of childbirth and guide of fugitives; Vulcanus, god of fire; and Neptunus, god of water. There were principal divinities for agriculture, husbandry, and pasturage, such as Mars and Ceres, both related to the renewal of nature year by year; Mars became the defender of the fields, both from pestilence and from foreign invaders, and Ceres was the giver of harvests. Besides there were Saturnus, god of sown soil and the treasures beneath it; Lua, who brings but also heals the diseases of plants; Consus, god of the harvest of all crops; Ops, who sees to the harvest's abundance; and Maia, who makes the fruit grow. Then there were divinities of the family, like Mater Matuta, Liber or Libera, and the Penates (who were originally protectors of the store-room); and there were divinities of the underworld, such as Vediovis, Orcus, and the others who were later eclipsed by the Greek Persephone (with the names Mania, Furina, and Larenta).

As Rome met peoples of different civilizations, with gods of their own, two parallel movements started in Roman religion, the adoption of foreign cults, and a syncretism between such cults and those it already possessed. It believed, too, that if it adopted the gods who protected enemy cities it would deprive those cities of their divine aid; moreover it was natural for it to allow

the subjects it had won by conquest to retain their own cults, and equally natural for these cults to grow. Finally as it learned more about the religion of other peoples it came to recognize that some cults were already common to victors and vanquished ('divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque'), and that the similarities were such as to suggest the possibility of syncretism.

Naturally its first borrowings in religion were from the Italic cities nearest to it: Iuturna and Fortuna from the Latin cities of Lavinium and Praeneste, Feronia and Vacuna from the Sabine country. Then in the period of Etruscan domination began the large-scale invasion by Etruscan cults (Nortia, Manturna, Laverna, Voltumna), and assimilations between Roman and Etruscan divinities (Juppiter = Tinia) and between Roman gods and gods borrowed by the Etruscans from Italic peoples (Juno = Uni). At much the same time syncretisms between Roman and Greek cults were growing more numerous, together with some wholesale adoptions of Greek cults. This happened either through contact between Romans and sailors from the Chalcidic cities of Campania, or through the Phocaeen trading-post at the mouth of the Tiber, or through the Etruscans acting as intermediaries. Other factors were the diffusion of Greek pottery painted with mythical scenes, and consultation of the Sibylline Books.

According to the early Romans divine good will had to be secured by following a meticulous magic ritual, by pronouncing without the smallest mistake formulae which in time had become incomprehensible, and by offering the gods what was believed to please them (food, sacrifices of animals, and originally human sacrifices too) on condition that they consented in advance to listen to prayer. The gods, it was believed, made their views known through phenomena of varying abnormality; and their displeasure had to be placated by offerings and lustral ceremonies to remove the effects of acts of impurity and of wrong-doing. Originally altars were erected to the gods on the tops of mountains, or in grottoes communicating with the underworld, or in mysterious woods, the areas or *templa* being marked out with sacred rites. Later they were placed in temple buildings, of which the earliest recorded by tradition go back to the time of the Etruscan kings—the temple of Diana on the Aventine, and the temples with three *cellae* on the Quirinal and Capitoline hills.

The systems of cremation which became common in Latium through influence of the invading Second Italici were one of the reasons why early Romans had little interest in their dead, whose ashes or graves were placed in isolated spots, even though they might be accompanied by appropriate furnishings. On fixed days it was the custom to open the approach to the lower world where the spirits congregated, and give access both to the good spirits (Manes and Lares) and to those who brought danger (Lemures); but for all the rest of the year the approach was closed by the stone of the 'mundus'.

At Rome as elsewhere the king was the religious head of the state, and as

such he was the founder, in fairly early days, of the various priestly orders needed to help him or to act as delegates for particular duties. He still remained as *rex sacrificulus* in Republican times, and it was due to him and the sacerdotal colleges that the new magistrates did not add religious duties to their other functions. In their turn the priests did not achieve a direct and complete control over the magistrates.

Perhaps the oldest priesthood, in one view dating back in some form to a period before the Indo-European dispersion, is that of the *flamines*, of etymology believed to be akin to that of the Indian *Brāhmaṇa*. They are later found in two groups, the older being the threefold college of Flamen Dialis, Martialis, and Quirinalis, the later one attached to the twelve gods. The *Salii*, on the other hand, who had archaic rites connected with inanimate objects, were of early Latin origin, and turn up again at Laurentum, Lavinium, Aricia, Tusculum, Tibur, and Anagnia. The Vestals must at first have been priestesses of the ancient goddess of fire, Caca, who was later identified with Vesta. The colleges of Augures and Fetiales, used in relations with foreign states, seem to be of later origin, but the most important college was undoubtedly that of the Pontifices, which tradition dates back to the time of Numa. After the beginning of the Republic the pontiffs succeeded in making themselves independent of the *rex sacrorum*, and replaced him in the direction of sacred affairs. Their duties included regulation of the calendar and drawing up the 'tabulae dealbatae', on which the principal doings of each year were recorded. Later on patrician families had their private priesthods, like the Luperi Fabiani and Luperi Quintiales.

i. Etruscans

The Etruscans are one of the few western peoples whose religion and rituals we are in a position to reconstruct during this period. They are known to us in two ways. One is direct and contemporary, through pictures on monuments and through inscriptions; the other comes indirectly through the evidence of Greek and Latin writers, both pagan and Christian, and is normally fairly late—from the end of the Republic and still more from imperial times. The latter evidence naturally does not often tell us about conditions and ideas belonging to earlier periods, but deals with later and contemporary conditions, when Etruscan religion had undergone contamination and distortion. It did in fact draw new features from every quarter. Contact with the Greeks and their philosophical and religious writings was important, but still more the propaganda of the itinerant Chaldeans, mainly easterners, who infected Etruscan religion by the production of quite arbitrary interpretations and supposed likenesses, particularly based on the traditional origin of the Etruscans from the East (which the present writer regards as fictitious). No modern reconstruction which is essentially based on this late and tendentious evidence can possibly give a genuine picture of Etruscan religion in its early stages. Serious anachronism would be inescapable.

Every example we can verify suggests that Etruscan religion, in very ancient times, was continually undergoing modification, and that its pantheon too was by no means constant. There was an early stage when pre-anthropomorphic cults still persisted and worship was paid to stones, armour, rivers, and the like; but even then there were also anthropomorphic gods whose power of action was sometimes wide and sometimes narrow, and their antiquity is guaranteed by pure Etruscan names, although very soon they lent themselves to syncretism with gods from abroad. Illustrative names are Tinia, Fufluns, Setlans, Turms, Turan, Tin, Vertumnus or Voltumnus (round whose shrine one of the Etruscan leagues had its being), Mantus, Mania, Catha, Northia, Tages, Vegonia and the tutelary god of cities, Tarchu. There were as many others whose power may have been more limited, such as Cilens, Cvalp, Ethausva, Letham, Tecum, Thuftha, Tluscu, Letha, Laran, and many others whose forms are depicted on Etruscan mirrors.

Other divinities can be shown to have originated among Indo-European peoples, and more specifically the Italici alongside whom the Etruscans lived for centuries. These include Ani (Janus), Nethuns (Neptunus), Selvans (Silvanus), Usil (Ausosa, Aurora), Vetis (Vedius, Vediovis), Satra (Saturnus), Mae (Maia), and all the gods of the famous triad—Uni (Juno), Maris (Mars, evidently replacing a similar native divinity), and Mnrva (Minerva).

There are also divinities whose origin was clearly Greek though the names are sometimes distorted, and who must be derived from contacts with the Hellenic colonies in Italy. There was Aplu (Apollo), Artume or Aritimi (Artemis), Hercle (Heracles), Aite (Hades), and Persipnai (Persephone, related to the native deities Mantus and Mania). But normally it seemed enough to establish syncretisms between Etruscan and Greek, or Etruscan and Italian gods: Tinia with Juppiter and Zeus; Fufluns with Bacchus and Dionysus; Setlans with Vulcanus and Hephaestus; Turms with Mercurius and Hermes; Turan with Venus and Aphrodite; Tin with Diana/Luna and Selene; and the Etrusco-Italic Mnrva (Minerva) with the Greek Athene.

Along with the shapes and attributes of so many Greek gods there travelled from Greece to Etruria a number of myths, sometimes in their entirety. Vase-painting shows how they were shortened, contaminated, misunderstood, and 'Etruscized' generally. There was also much passage of Greek ritual and methods of cult.

The concept of life after death underwent a complete cycle of change brought about by the history of the native population combined with Greek influence. Three main stages can be defined. Long before their invading parties crossed into Tuscany the North Etruscan tribes had practised cremation, their purpose being to destroy the dead bodies. This probably corresponds to the dominant idea of very early days, that of preventing the dead man from appearing again as a ghost to disturb the life of the living.

The next stage follows closely on the introduction of inhumation, due to

contact with the Italici, and was also caused by the influence of Greek ideas on the relations between life on earth and life in the next world. The Etruscans, especially their upper classes, attained a more serene conception of life after death, in which the human spirit was carried away by a winged demon, and arrived in the underworld in a chariot or on horseback or on foot, accompanied by a Lasa reciting a roll which described the life the man had led on earth. The third stage came mainly in the period of Part II, starting in the fifth century when cultural relations between Greece and Etruria were broken. Pictures in tombs then show the Etruscans returning once again to a more sombre, sad, and fearful conception of life after death.

Etruscan religion was exceptionally formalized, and was rich in the details of ritual in magic formulae and prescriptions which had to be followed scrupulously in all public and private actions. Traditional ideas of religion dictated the construction of city walls, the lay-out of temples, and the form of sacrifices and of banquets held on characteristic occasions of life. All this built up a science known to the priests, the Etruscan 'disciplina', which was certainly not unchanging, but was constantly being modified like every other product of the human mind. The priests were expert at ways of learning the will of the gods, which was made known not so much through oracles as through direct signs and portents, requiring correct interpretation, such as the characteristics of thunderbolts, the flight of birds, and the shape of entrails of sacrificial victims—especially their livers (the science of hepatoscopy). As is well known, such methods have made their appearance independently among primitive races of every period and place, without it being possible to deduce direct influence by one upon another of the kind some modern scholars have wanted to establish between Asia Minor, Greece, and Etruria. This rich and constantly developing ritual naturally gave rise to the compilation of written formularies, and probably these too were periodically revised; for the material for them, the rites themselves and still more their interpretation, was continually being altered in a way that was secret and difficult to control. The period of greatest innovation came when the Etruscan priests had close and frequent contacts with the itinerant Chaldeans. The literature includes the *Libri Tagetici* (or *Haruspicini*), in which the rules are set out in the form of a dialogue between the heroic figures Tages and Tarchna, the *Libri Vegonici*, ascribed to the nymph Vegonia, and books called *fulgurales*, *rituales*, *fatales*, and *Acheruntici* (this last a Greek name).

j. *Phoenician and Punic religion*

Before coming to Punic religion we must say a word about the religion of Phoenicia and Canaan, from which it was derived.

From fragments of a Greek version made by Philon of Byblos in the first or second century AD, we know something of the Phoenician religious system as it was supposed to have been drawn up in the time of Solomon by a priest

called Sankhuniaton. But in fact the picture is one of earlier conditions, which moreover were clearly recast in the post-Hellenistic period, particularly with the addition of a kind of astrological superstructure.

We get more genuine, or at any rate less controversial, information by taking as our point of departure the sacred texts of Ugarit (c. 1400 BC) the data provided by the Old Testament, and the evidence of epigraphy and archaeology. These show us that the tribes of Canaan originally preserved their archaic worship of inanimate and naturalistic objects in the fields—stones, poles, and sacred trees. In time they came to venerate divine beings called Baālim and Baalat: these are names for the male and female forms respectively, sometimes used for single divinities, sometimes for pairs or triads, both by the whole people and by individual cities, for their particular gods. At the outset they had little personality or myths attaching to them, and sometimes no proper names of their own. Only in time, under the influence of foreign contacts, were myths evolved and embellished.

One pair of supreme divinities was composed of El (The God), creator of the world and lord of the gods, and his consort Asherāh; and there was a triad consisting of Baal (The Lord), a god of the storm and lightning similar to the Mesopotamian Hadad, his wife Astarte, and the boy Adonis, who dies and is resurrected, symbolizing nature's death and rebirth. Adonis had his counterpart in Alian Ba'al, found in wells and underground springs, and in Mot, the god of harvests and fruits: another comparison is with Dagon, god of corn. At Tyre the god most revered was Melqart (King of the City), who was first a sun god and later also a god of the sea: eventually with Dagon of the sea-coast and with Resef he was identified with Apollo. Sidon worshipped Esmun, later made equivalent to Asclepius. The priests of Ugarit and the later Phoenicians and Carthaginians were called 'Kōhen' like the Hebrew priests, and were organized in colleges; prophets too had an important role, as we see from I *Kings* xviii. Archaeology and the *Old Testament* show that sacrificial ritual was most meticulous and that a significant part was played by human sacrifices, especially those offered to Malik, god of first-born sons (the Moloch of the Bible), for instance when a foundation stone was being laid for a house. Other ancient rites were sacred prostitution and circumcision. The god revealed himself especially in cult places, marked by a pillar or a pair of pillars in the open air, and later by regular shrines of which there was already one at Ugarit. Much care was given to tombs, and in very early times, perhaps under influence from Babylon and Egypt, the theory was evolved that life on earth affected the way the soul was treated after death.

The human personalities eventually given to Phoenician deities were largely owed to syncretism with the gods of other peoples. But the syncretism was often very superficial, based on incidental resemblances, such as those between Tyrian Ba'alat and Egyptian Hathor, between Melqart and the Greek Heracles, Eshmun and Asclepius, and Astarte and Aphrodite.

The Phoenician colonies of the West, later organized by Carthage into an empire of its own, were separated from Phoenicia by a long distance, and by a breakdown in direct communications after the fall of Tyre. So Punic religion took on a peculiar character, and a number of syncretisms were evolved. Many of these are attested by the Punico-Macedonian treaty between Hannibal and Philip V (Polybius, VII, 9), where we also find evidence that nature cults of 'rivers, plants, and waters' and the familiar grouping of divinities in triads still went on. The two basic Punic divinities were El's successor Baal Hammon, who was identified with the Greek Zeus and with the Latin Saturnus (rather than Juppiter), as the god who creates and destroys, and his wife Tanit, successor to Astarte, identified with Cybele and with Juno Caelestis. Melqart was also important; so was Eshmun, identified with Asclepius and worship on the hill of Byrsa. Pictures of divine figures on coins of the Punic colonies in Sicily show how syncretisms had been established between Punic gods and almost all the main Greek divinities. From native Sicily, too, Carthage took various Hellenized divinities like Demeter and Korē, who later spread to the Numidian hinterland, together with the goddess of Mount Eryx who was later identified with Astarte, Aphrodite, and Venus. It may be assumed that there were also syncretisms with native and Hellenized divinities of North Africa, Spain, and Sardinia.

We are told of Punic priestly colleges (*mirzah*), high priests (*rab kohānim*) and priestesses, generally chosen from leading families. Greek writers said that religious feeling among the Carthaginians was in proportion to their fear of dangers. Archaeological evidence shows exaggerated use of amulets, and the lives of great Carthaginians, like Hannibal, show how superstitious they were. Excavations of the great Carthaginian metropolis, relating to a period beginning with the eighth century, have confirmed the frightful usage of Moloch sacrifices of first-born sons to Baal Hammon and Tanit, but Sicilian excavations show that there the inhumanity was abandoned and small animals were used instead. Yet the appalling sacrificial slaughter at the taking of Himera in 409 proves that the prohibition on human sacrifices made by Gelon (and in another part of the world by Darius I) had no validity for the Carthaginians.

There was sporadic use of cremation in the seventh century, but the Carthaginians normally buried their dead, as we can see from archaeological evidence rather than having to rely on Timaeus (Justin, XIX, I, II). They employed death masks in human shape (two examples have been found at La Cannita near Palermo). The theory that deserts during life governed a soul's treatment in the underworld had a normal development similar to that found among the Hebrews.

2. COSMOGONIES AMONG VARIOUS PEOPLES

All ancient peoples of whom we have adequate knowledge to form a judgement tried early in their history to picture the origin of the world (*cosmogonia*). Their naïve speculations normally start from the concept of a creator; some people supposed him to have created from nothing, others that he gave order to elements which at the outset were confused in chaos or immersed in the ocean.

The Chinese, using the image of a tortoise-shell, made the creator plant at the four corners of the earth four great claws of a tortoise to hold the sky, which was a fusion of stones of many colours. Then he freed the world from the black dragon, created banks for the rivers, and so forth.

Vedic cosmogony is still vague, but with it are connected the beginnings of Indian philosophical thought. Some hymns of the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Rigveda* already have a semi-philosophical character and contain the gist of certain views which belong to the thought of later ages, monism for example. Hymn I, 164, 46 makes undifferentiated being (*sat*) the primeval principle at the origin of the world. It is presented as usual as the moral or cosmic order (*ṛta*) mentioned earlier in this chapter, and is manifested by the regularity of astronomical phenomena. Later this primeval principle got personified as a creator deity (Hiraṇyagarbha or Viśvakarman). The primordial element from which all others issued was water. But the so-called philosophical hymns go further, and *Rigveda*, X, 129 already speaks of an absolute which is prior to the distinction between existence (*sat*) and non-existence (*asat*) and can only be defined negatively. Being becomes such through heat (*tapas*), and desire (*kāma*) is the link uniting *sat* with *asat*. Yet the expressions and mentality behind all this are based on contingent empiricism and have not yet risen to monist and idealist speculation.

The Assyrians, like the Babylonians before them, retained the theories about the 'Creation of the World' (Enuma Elish = when in the heavens), which the Sumerians had introduced into Mesopotamia long ago. Among the relatively few modifications was the substitution of their national god Ashur as the creator.

In Egypt, too, ideas on this matter, explained in Volume I, remained unchanged.

The first Persian theories of cosmogony probably go back to the time of Zarathustra although apart from one precious and eloquent reference in the fourth-century Greek historian Theopompus none of our evidence is earlier than the Sassanid period, and most of it is found in writings of the ninth century AD (*Bundahishn*). World history was divided into four periods, each of 3,000 years. In the first period Ahura Mazdah, living on high, created the celestial powers; in the second Ahriman, living in darkness down below, set up his demons in opposition, while Ahura Mazdah proceeded with the creation of the world, the land, vegetation, animals, and men. In the third

period began the strife between the two powers, with alternating phases of deaths and rebirths, down to the appearance of the first great kings and of Zarathustra. In the fourth period will come the decisive victory of Ahura Mazdah.

The earliest source for Phoenician cosmogony seems to be contained in the work of Sankhuniaton (eleventh century BC), which was edited by Philon of Byblos in the second century AD (see p. 242). From the union of Chaos with the Spirit there was born the cosmic egg Mot, which split in two and created the sky and the earth. Then followed the creation of the stars, wind, clouds, and rain; and of gods, giants and men, and so of all human activities, especially religion and worship.

As to Hebrew cosmogony the current doctrine is that in the earliest chapters of *Genesis* we have two stories, one older than the other, which originated from different documents. The editor who has given the book its present form has taken the general scheme of the later story as the basis of his narrative, but has inserted certain matter from the earlier one without minding about the resulting contradictions; for they affected the manner and ideal scheme of his exposition and never the reality of the story he was telling. Of course one should not take every expression as an assertion of objective reality. The facts under discussion must be distinguished from the literary genre or manner used to express them, which conforms to the artistic and didactic standards of the editor's time, and meets the needs of the public to which the story was directed and the capacity of this public to understand.

The basic document is now normally called 'Priestly', since its features suggest that it derived from a circle of priests and highly educated people, whereas the older document (normally called J. or Yahwist, because God is normally indicated by the name he had among the Hebrews) is more anthropomorphic in outlook. In the one the picture is wider, embracing the general problem of the origin of the Universe, while in the other the horizon is restricted to man and the question of his duties, his purpose, and so on. Moreover the cosmogony in the Priestly account is dominated by the element of Water, regarded as something hostile to man, to the point at which conquest of cultivable soil consists in redeeming it from Water. But in the Yahwist version the dominant feature is a desert which has to be made fertile by rain and springs, even though these waters too must be regulated by man before they can take proper effect.

What we have said so far may help in identifying the provenance of the two accounts, the older of which may be placed in Syria and Arabia, the later in Mesopotamia. As to the date, the Yahwist version may be ninth or eighth century BC, the later version belongs to the late seventh or early sixth, but the data on which its priestly writers worked are distinctly earlier. Links with the cosmogony of other eastern Semitic peoples are many and obvious. It could not be otherwise; yet the biblical author shows a higher conception

of God, insisting on his oneness and admitting no one outside him or against him, or at any rate picturing the primordial state (that which was antecedent to God's ordering), as one on which God works by the power of his Word rather than as an obstacle which must be overcome by means of a struggle. In this way the Hebrew story acquires, as a noble piece of moral and religious teaching, a value lacking in parallel Sumerian and Egyptian accounts. We may regard the undoubted similarities in terminology as due to the author's deliberate adoption of words which could be understood by all. It was not simply that he depended on the origins accepted by other people.

The story of the creation of the world and of man was undoubtedly presented in the way which could most easily express in a simple style the succeeding phases of God's work, which had had complete freedom to plan the best possible state for man, with the good as a goal. Yet man had to feel both his absolute dependence on his Lord and his duty to mark his difference from the beasts (in other countries sexual relations with animals were allowed, although the purpose was simply to encourage their fertility.) The author however uses naïve conceptions, in the picturesque manner to which he has accustomed us, to emphasize in his narrative the close relation between man and woman, since he wants to bring out the lofty significance of their union, the purpose of which is to multiply creation. Moreover the whole complex narrative is fitted into a scheme (six days of labour and one of rest) which has a clearly didactic purpose; it follows a recurring formula of Semitic literature, which makes events on earth a replica of what happens in heaven. In any case the editor of *Genesis* did not mean every single detail, any more than the complete account, to be taken as objective fact. The details were expressed in conventional terms which conformed to the outlook of his race and the society of his time. They were intended to enunciate, in unescapable terms, certain great truths which were fundamental for human existence.

As regards Greek thought, the ideas of cosmogony which prevailed when the Homeric epic was compiled are known to us from *Iliad* XIV, 200 ff. From Earth (Thetis) and Ocean was born Rhea, the wife of Cronos and mother of Zeus and Hera. In the Hesiodic Age which followed, the *Theogony*, which later became a fundamental work to the Greeks, laid down the system which gained general diffusion until the *physiologoi* started their philosophies. According to Hesiod the age of Chaos came first, then there appeared Earth (Gea), Darkness (Tartaros), and the god of Love (Eros). From Chaos were born the Eclipse (Erebos) and Night (Nyx); from Earth came the Heavens (Ouranos), the mountains, and the Sea (Pontos). From the union of these first elements were derived the abstract forces (Themis, Thanatos, Nikē, Nemesis) and the first legendary people (Cyclopes, Erinnyes, Moirai, Gorgones). As well as these Cronos, Nereus, and Cerberus were born; and there followed the second generation of Cronos, and the third generation of Zeus.

Pherecydes of Syros (first half of sixth century), who is known as a pupil of the 'Wise Man' Pittacus and teacher of Pythagoras, made a greater effort to

distinguish within this theoretical and mythical cosmogony the elements of the world. He thus established a kind of primordial physics, in which interest in ethics is also visible. In his work *Pentamychos* (the cavern of five chambers) he maintained that initially there was Chaos, whom he identified with Oceanus; next came Zeus, who disposed the moral order and took on also the duties of Eros, with Chronos (or Cronos) the primordial essence of Time, and Earth. From the seed of Chronos were born Fire, Air, and Water, and so we have the gods in each of the five chambers of the cavern. The order of the world derived from the strife between the gods, those who were beaten being cast down into Oceanus.

There are similar ethical conclusions in the cosmogony of the Orphics and in Pythagoreanism.

3. THE FIRST STEPS IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY

In this section it seems inappropriate to collect the earliest references to philosophy among other peoples; and in any case enough has been said of this in connection with their science, religion, and cosmogony.

The same pre-eminence which the Greeks achieved in pure science they were destined to obtain in their conquest of philosophical thought, owing to their remarkable capacity for moving from empirical study of facts and phenomena on to rational and abstract study of the essential nature of these facts. Through their voyages and colonization the Greeks came to know all the coasts of the three continents facing the Mediterranean and its connecting seas, with the peoples and cultures to be found in these lands; and they themselves had a wealth of political and social experience in these periods, under kings, aristocracies, tyrannies, and democracies. Moreover they had attained early an advanced stage of ethical speculation, illustrated by the opinions of the 'Seven Wise Men', by their 'gnomic' poetry, and by the balances shown in their codes of laws. They were not held back by any religious castes which had taken control of science and philosophy; so as these fields opened before their minds, they enjoyed freedom of ideas and an individualism which allowed the most daring thoughts. Being logical by nature and carried easily towards the development of reasoning and towards the creation of logical systems, they were less fond of scientific study for its practical applications (though they did learn and improve these applications under all scientific heads) than for its theoretical refinement, which enabled them to explain things and phenomena as a rational whole.

The earliest Greek philosophers directed themselves along two separate paths. In the search for a principle governing the real world, one school attached predominant importance to the material from which things are made and given life, the other to the forms which make things different from one another. In our period the former method was represented by the so-called *physiologoi* of Ionia.

Thales of Miletus (c. 625–585) through his travels was enabled to learn the practical geometry of the Egyptians, from which he established some new general theorems, and also some astronomical notions of Babylonian origin, which allowed him to predict the eclipse of the sun on May 28, 585. But he wanted to explain the origin of the world without repeating the myths of old cosmogonies, which supposed that the elements had been distinct from the start. For him Water was the primary substance, ageless and imperishable, divine in character; and from it the other elements were derived—Earth, the solid element, and Air, the gaseous element.

His pupil Anaximander (c. 610–546), a Milesian like himself, and also a geographer and astronomer, saw the difficulties involved in trying to derive all elements from one of their own number. He supposed that to the Infinite (*apeiron*), an indefinable entity which recalls the Chaos of the cosmogonies, differentiation was introduced by cold and heat, dry and wet, and so on; and that in this way were born Earth, Water, Air, and Fire. In addition his reflections about organic beings led him to derive one kind from another, for example man from fish.

His pupil Anaximenes (c. 585–528 or 524) returned to the theory of a definite primordial element, but applied his master's propositions about the two opposite phenomena of rarefaction and condensation. He maintained therefore that the air or gaseous state, the element which to him was primordial and embraced the Universe and the human soul, generated fire by rarefaction, and water (the fluid state) and earth (the solid state) by intermediate stages of condensation illustrated by the wind and the clouds.

Pythagoras of Samos (570–497) settled after long journeys at Croton, gained control of its aristocracy, and in 532 founded there a famous society of ascetic bent, which studied philosophy, politics, and science. He became master of the city until he was turned out by the *demos* and went to Metapontum. The prime idea behind all his researches and discoveries in astronomy, physics, and mathematics (see p. 147 f.), an idea developed later in every possible direction by his pupils, was that matter was measurable and countable, and that in every real thing a mathematical relation existed as its basis. For him the objects in nature were not to be unified as the result of any substantial oneness of matter, as they were for the Milesian *physiologoi*; but there was a common basis in number, which determined nature's variety. Another of the fundamental themes later developed on a broad front by the Pythagorean school was that of the oppositions: between infinite and finite, even and odd, and so on. Pythagoras was a convinced believer in the religious doctrines of the Orphics; and for him scientific study and a life devoted to higher theoretical research were the most effective means of redeeming and purifying the soul, freeing it from the passions during its various existences within a body. Yet it is clear that not all his followers could understand and support both sides of his teaching, and that therefore many of them built their lives only round the mystical and ethical side, though they might

admit the scientific and philosophical side as a sort of dogma which was not comprehensible in the same way.

Xenophanes of Colophon (c. 580–480), a wandering singer of his own religious epics, settled in the new colony of Elea (Velia) which the Phocaeans founded in southern Italy, and established there a religious and philosophical school which was markedly hostile to the prevailing ideas to be found in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems. In opposition to the 'areté' of those works the new school set up 'sophia', the wisdom which sees, contemplates, and so comes to know and understand, its conclusion being both monotheism and monophysism. The one all-powerful divinity, despite his diverse ways of showing himself, must not be conceived in anthropomorphic terms, with a human face and human habits, sometimes wicked and immoral. Eternal and unchanging, this god could not be seen or heard or known by man, from whom he was altogether dissimilar. Without needing to move he still saw and controlled everything, while his thought was automatically turned into reality. Xenophanes made no attempt to provide a clear and confident opinion about the origin of the world. He rejected the ancient myths, attempting to replace them by naturalistic and empirical interpretations of phenomena. His belief was that the fundamental elements were the earth and the sea, from which by a natural process were derived the clouds (for example he thought Iris only a cloud), together with the winds, the rain, and the streams.

In the development of the Eleatic school a much greater figure than Xenophanes was his 'pupil' Parmenides of Elea, whose *floruit* is put at 504–501 BC (sixty-ninth Olympiad). Under him the monotheist beliefs of the school genuinely blended with monophysism. In his view in order to achieve knowledge 'according to truth' one must avail oneself of logical investigation, reason, and intelligence. One must master the problems of Being and Not-Being, of positive and negative, and of substantive and predicate. Only by means of the intellect could man intuit the truest truth, the substantive being, which neither was born nor dies, and was compact, unmovable, unchangeable. Over against this absolute reality stood a reality 'according to the opinion of mortals', that is to say reality according to the senses; and in this everything appeared in a definite way, partly because it did not appear as other things appear. From this derived the antithesis between Being and Not-Being, an antinomy which Parmenides refused to accept. For this reason he was convinced that the only reality was logical reality, the reality obtained by the senses being illusory.

His contemporary Heraclitus of Ephesus, who also flourished in the sixty-ninth Olympiad, produced an almost diametrically opposite conception. For him it was precisely the opposition and contradiction between things which constituted the proof of their reality, since nothing abided, everything was changing and becoming. War, opposition, distinction, and contrast were the basis of the world, the 'discordant concord' which ruled over the life of

nature and of man, according to the immanent divine law (approached by initiates) which had its response in all existence, and from which human law derives. All elements, water, air, and earth, were in a continual process of becoming by the operation of fire. It was fire which was related to the moments at which matter was changed, and which initiated the perpetual becoming.¹⁵

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Professor Martin McGuire suggests that this gives an exaggerated impression. In his view there was no real conflict between prophets and priests over matters of orthodoxy.
2. This is a possible etymological rendering of one of the Hebrew words used for 'prophets'; but others interpret it as 'seers' or 'speakers in place of . . .'. The relevant terminology is very variable, and still gives rise to the most lively controversies.
3. Jeremiah in effect preached non-violence.
4. Also, as Professor F. M. Heichelheim points out, in those of Assyria, and of the Phoenician and Syrian principalities.
5. This is clearly indicated in some of the early Psalms.
6. These ideas are first found in the decades before the Captivity.
7. *History of Mankind*, I-2, Chapter I, pp. 380-4; Chapter VIII, pp. 714-18.
8. They are not represented, to our knowledge, in material images, and the allusions which are made in the hymns to them and to their actions are not always compatible with an imaginative evocation of them in human form. Agni, e.g., is represented as a bull, a horse, a bird, etc. Cf. full references in A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-veda* (Paris, 1878), t. I, pp. 142 ff. *passim*.
9. The hypothesis which considers that the origin of the speculative element was non-Aryan gratuitously supposes that Aryan society was incapable of creative work.
The classic and ancient theory that Buddhism and Jainism were movements of protest and reaction against the excessive ritualism of the *Brāhmaṇa* and the power it gave the religious class, fails to realize that these two movements were essentially concerned with liberation from existence and not with struggling against social servitudes. They are addressed as much to the privileged of the world as to others. It was the fact that they were directed at material prosperity which made the Brahmanical religion, philosophies, and techniques for salvation of their time seem insufficient to them. The Buddha defeated the heretics but converted the Brahmins.
10. See Chapter I, note 43.
11. The Delphic festival, known as the Pythia, was reorganized under the Amphictionic Council in 582 BC and was thenceforth, like the Olympian festival, held every four years. The Corinthian ('Isthmian') and Nemean festivals, each held every other year, were placed on a regular footing about the same time.
12. Professor Pareti has unfortunately not made it clear why this shrine (Pausanias, VIII, 5, 4) proves an indigenous origin for Dionysus. Ancient Greek tradition uniformly supposed Dionysus to be a foreigner, Thracian or Phrygian (and the Phrygians were of Thracian origin); and it is held by most scholars that ecstasy accompanied the cult from the first. More difficult are the questions when and how Dionysus became a god of vegetation, and especially of the vine, and how his cult (e.g. in the Ionian festival of the Anthesteria) came to be associated with the dead. The classic discussion by Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (3rd edition, Cambridge, 1922), pp. 364 ff., is still of great value; see also M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte d. griech. Religion* (Munich, 1941), I, pp. 532 ff.

13. Here too one must regret that Professor Pareti was unable to develop his interesting reference to the *colonial* policy of the Peisistratids. Certainly Onomacritus, the oracle-monger who as a close friend of Peisistratus' sons (see Herodotus, VII. 6) was responsible for composing much of the earliest 'Orphic' writing; see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), pp. 13 ff., pp. 107 ff. But though a sixth-century Attic origin for Orphism has much to commend it, the close relations between Orphic ideas and those of Pythagoreanism (see below pp. 249) must not be ignored; and indeed tradition associates Onomacritus with certain western Greek sages; see Guthrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff.
14. Epimenides the Cretan was a seer of whom many legendary tales are told stretching over a period as long as the great age with which he was credited (on one view he lived 299 years). One well-known action was his purification of Athens from the pollution resulting from the murder of Cylon's followers by the Alcmaeonids. The murder occurred *c.* 630 BC, and the purification is dated by Plutarch to Solon's time (*c.* 595). But it is just possible that the story in Plato (*Laws*, 642 D) is right, and that Epimenides purified Athens after the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes, who legislated in 508, had been brought back from exile.
15. Dr P. Oliva comments that he would have preferred this paragraph on Heraclitus to follow closely on those concerning the Milesian *physiologoi* and to precede any reference to the Eleatics. It is true that the date given by Professor Pareti for Parmenides' *floruit* (provided by the chronographer Apollodorus) may well be too early (Plato, *Parmenides*, 127 B, and in other passages makes him talk to Socrates in Athens as late as *c.* 450 BC); and it is clear that Heraclitus, who knew nothing of the Eleatics, was in the Ionian tradition, particularly in his theory of 'opposites' which goes back to Anaximander. But Heraclitus, who included his older contemporary Xenophanes in his contempt for earlier writers, cannot be dissociated from Xenophanes, since both mark the beginnings of the great period of Greek rationalism. Heraclitus above all is the inaugurator of a new method in philosophy, with his emphasis on *Logos*.

CHAPTER VI

LITERATURE AND ART, 1200-600 BC

I. LITERATURE

a. *China*

At the beginning of Chinese literature orthodox Confucian tradition places the so-called 'Five Classics', among which three occupy a position of pre-eminence, *I-ching*, *Shu-ching*, and *Shih-ching*. There has been much discussion about their date and authenticity. They may be taken to be the compilation in a written form (carried out in the middle of the first millennium BC) of a body of legends, traditions, poems, songs, etc., going back to the early Chou period.

The *I-ching* (Book of Changes), attributed to the mythical emperor Fu-hsi, probably had its origin in a collection of peasant omen texts: it accumulates a mass of material used in the practices of divination. It centres round the eight trigrams (*pa-kua*) and sixty-four hexagrams, which represent the possible combinations of three and six parallel sections of a line, each section being either whole or broken in two. Each of them is followed by an explanatory phrase attributed to Wên-wang (the first Chou king) and by six phrases of commentary attributed to the Duke of Chou. Then there are ten appendices (*shih-i*), which in the twelfth century AD served as the basis of the neo-Confucian philosophy of Chu Hsi. The date of this highly respected book has been the subject of much controversy. Kuo Mo-jo, for example, would put the bulk of it in the fourth and third centuries BC, with additions of the Han period. More plausible is the view of Li Ching-ch'ih, who traces the basic core of the work to an augural compilation of the eighth or seventh centuries BC, but would place its modern form no earlier than the fourth century BC.

The *Shu-ching* (Book of Documents) is a collection of various kinds of document, discourse, and oration, attributed by tradition to the earliest Chou period. Only certain pieces, however, are earlier than the eighth century, the bulk being a patchwork made up with pieces of very varying date.

The *Shih-ching* (Book of Odes) is a collection of ancient songs, the discovery and assembly of which are attributed to Confucius. In fact it may well be earlier. In any event the *Shih-ching* contains a large genuine core of ancient popular and rustic verse, belonging to the first half of the first millennium BC.

The influence of these texts on later thought was immense, especially that of the *I-ching*. Later commentators treated it as a store-house of abstract concepts, to which every event or idea could be traced and in which all future progress was foreshadowed.

b. *India*

Vedic literature is entirely anonymous. This despite the traditions which make the mythical bard Vyāsa the composer of the *Veda*, and despite the groups of hymns which got attributed to little-known priestly families. This literature, concentrated as it is upon ritual and sacrifice, has an exclusively religious or—to put it more precisely—a priestly character. None of the secular strains or infiltrations which recur in the *Upaniṣad* are yet visible in the Vedic texts. We have, therefore, an enormous mass of poetry, and somewhat later of prose, which was collected or composed by generation after generation of unknown priests.

The *Veda* were sacred, and were regarded as having existed from eternity without creation. This accounts for the enormous importance attached to the establishment of their text and the meticulous care devoted to their correct pronunciation. Various methods were employed, chief among which was the *Padapathas*, that is to say the Vedic text transcribed word for word without any attention to the rules of euphonic composition (*sandhi*). Of the phonetic manuals (*prātiśākhya*) something will be said in Part II. But the main point is that the sacred text was transmitted orally over dozens of generations. Every manuscript existing today is very late, not only because the materials used were perishable, but because it was forbidden to entrust the revealed word to writing. Oral tradition, though it has become very feeble, has never been interrupted to this day. At Benares, as well as in the south, masters make their pupils memorize passages of sacred text which may be quite long and even comprise a whole *Veda*, just as they did three thousand years ago. Nevertheless the text has been preserved very pure.

Of the four *Veda*, the first is the *Rigveda*, which is presupposed by all the other Vedic texts but itself presupposes none of them. This relative chronology is difficult to tie on to an absolute one. Extreme dates have been proposed (Jacobi suggested 4000 BC, Tilak 6000). But it can broadly be said that the central core of the Rigvedic hymns (not the *Rigveda* as a collection) is contemporary with the Aryan migration into India and can therefore be dated about the middle of the second millennium BC. The *Rigveda* contains the strophes (*ṛk*) recited in the course of sacrifice. It is divided into ten *maṇḍala*, the primitive nucleus being those numbered II to VII inclusive, each of which is attributed to a priestly family; VIII contains a fair number of interpolations; IX seems to be very early material which has entered the collection later; I is partly ancient, partly late. Finally there is X, sharply to be distinguished from all the others and decidedly late; it contains the main hymns of philosophical type. This vast anthology comprises hymns on the world's origins and history, panegyrics praising the gods, liturgical poems describing rites, and every other kind of hymn. Although later tradition tells of several Rigvedic schools, only one recension, that of the Śākala school, is preserved. The very numerous citations of Rigvedic hymns in other texts betray marked variants, but these only serve to confirm the validity of the vulgate text.

The *Yajurveda* is the assembly of sacrificial formulae (*yajus*). Of this there are five recensions or collections (*saṃhita*), four (*Kāṭhaka*, *Kaṣiṣṭhala*, *Maitrāyaṇī*, and *Taittirīya*) representing the so-called 'black' *Yajurveda* with the sacred formulae interspersed with glosses in prose, and the fifth (*Vājasa-neyi* with its two sub-recensions) being the 'white' *Yajurveda* whose text is free from contamination by glosses. As a literary document the *Yajurveda* is certainly inferior to the *Ṛigveda*. Its original elements, in contrast with the composition of its elder sister, are represented precisely by the *yajus*, which are mainly in prose and are arid formulae without any marked character.

The *Samaveda* is the collection of *saman* or melodies, and is therefore a manual of sacred song. There are three extant recensions of it (*Kauthuma*, *Jaiminīya*, and *Rāṇayaniya*); the songs are mostly lifted from the *Ṛigveda*, and the choice has been made mainly from a practical musical standpoint; in other words verses have been selected which could serve as the base (*yoni*) of a melody. The original musical notation has, however, disappeared; we shall have something further to say of the later notation preserved by the commentators.

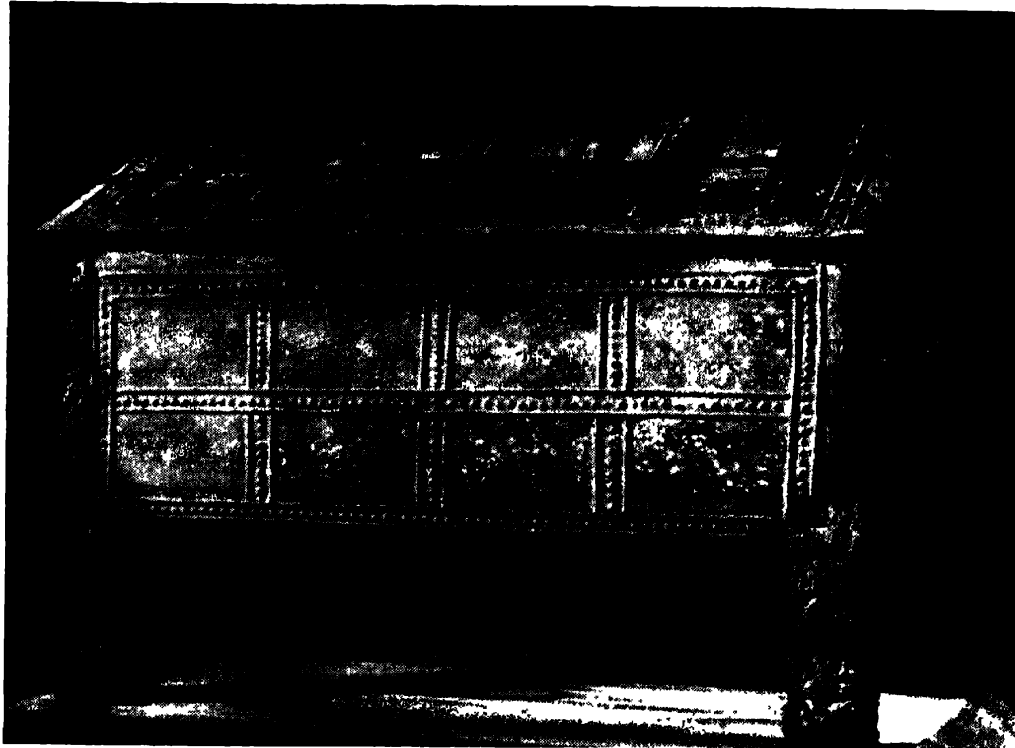
The *Atharvaveda* is a collection of magical formulae and is markedly different from the other three *Veda*, both in religious outlook and in literary form. It is preserved in two recensions (*Śaunaka* and *Paippalāda*) which show significant divergences from one another; the text has come down to us much less pure than that of the *Ṛigveda*. Most interesting from the religious and ethnological standpoints, this collection is much less so on stylistic grounds. Yet it has been fairly observed that although the language is distinctly later than that of the *Ṛigveda*, the style, with its alliterations, repetitions, and assonances, gives an impression of being more archaic than that of the other text. In this way its chronology can be deduced: the formulae are very ancient, mainly contemporary with the *Ṛigveda*, but they have been modernized and collected at a much later date.

Attached to the four sacred *Veda* is a vast mass of literature varying from straightforward exegesis to very special studies of a theoretical kind, which can only by an effort be related to the *Veda*—and then simply in a formal sense. Among this Late Vedic literature, which until we reach the *Upaniṣad* is exclusively sacerdotal and anonymous, the earliest productions are the *Brāhmaṇas*, liturgies mixed with liturgical exegesis, all written in prose. A substantial number of these are extant, divided into four groups in accordance with the connection between each text and one of the four Vedic *saṃhita*. The most important is the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (formally linked with the white *Yajurveda*), which contains speculation and myth of a remarkable kind. The style of the *Brāhmaṇas* is dry and exceptionally monotonous. These explanations of the significance and order of sacrifice are abstruse and often tortuous; they offer little possibility for any style not purely didactic and scholastic. Once again the chronology of the *Brāhmaṇas* can only be relative,

but it is a reasonable hypothesis that the bulk of these works goes back to the first quarter of the first millennium B.C.

The *Brāhmaṇas* are followed by the *Āraṇyakas*, mixtures of Vedic formulae and commentaries of a kind similar to that found in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Their content is very uneven, and their importance in the history of Indian literature is secondary.

With the *Upaniṣad* we have already emerged from the Vedic field, even though tradition wants to impose an artificial connection which by now has lost all meaning. The *Upaniṣad* are mainly short texts of a philosophical or semi-philosophical nature, with less emphasis on the religious element. They do not actually entail a complete break with the past, since some parts of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are already pointing to the trend of thought they contain. The principal *Upaniṣad* are fourteen in number. The oldest among them are relatively long, written in prose interspersed with pieces of verse: instances are the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, which are closely connected with the *Brāhmaṇas*. Slightly later and much shorter is the *Aitareya*, and then a group comprising the *Kauṣītaki*, the *Kena*, and the *Taittirīya*. Their pithy style, packed with thought and also rich in lofty images and vivid comparisons, is one of the finest to be found in Indian literature. To a markedly different group, generally of later date, belong the *Upaniṣad* in verse, the language of which is by now far enough removed from that of the Vedic to be classed as a pre-classical Sanskrit. But in style the poetry of this group lacks unity, sequence, and homogeneity. The main texts are the *Kāṭhaka*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Muṇḍaka*, and *Praśna*; and to them is attached a small, slightly later group, written in prose, the *Māṇḍūkya* and the *Maitrāyaṇīya*. Here too the chronology is difficult to tie down. The oldest *Upaniṣad* are certainly pre-Buddhist, but with the group of the verse *Upaniṣad* we reach a period and a society not far away from the Buddhists which takes us to about 500 B.C. The most striking feature of this literature is something we have already mentioned, namely that it is not exclusively Brahmanic, written by Brahmans and addressed to the same class. All of it—but particularly the verse *Upaniṣad*—is sharply distinguishable from Vedic literature, and comes from circles in which the *Kṣattriya* were concerning themselves with religious questions and in which the Brahmans themselves were taking account of new problems and not simply of ritual. The audience was much wider than the Brahmanic conventicles and liturgical schools. Perhaps the direct contribution of the *Kṣattriya*, in contrast to what we may call the liberal Brahmans, should not be overestimated; all we can say with certainty is that the Brahmanic monopoly has been broken by the appearance of new ideas, a new style, and almost beyond new men. Whatever the exact story, these thinkers unquestionably mark a step forward, not only in religion but in literature too, on the road leading to a modification of Aryan traditions by the autochthonous substratum of India.



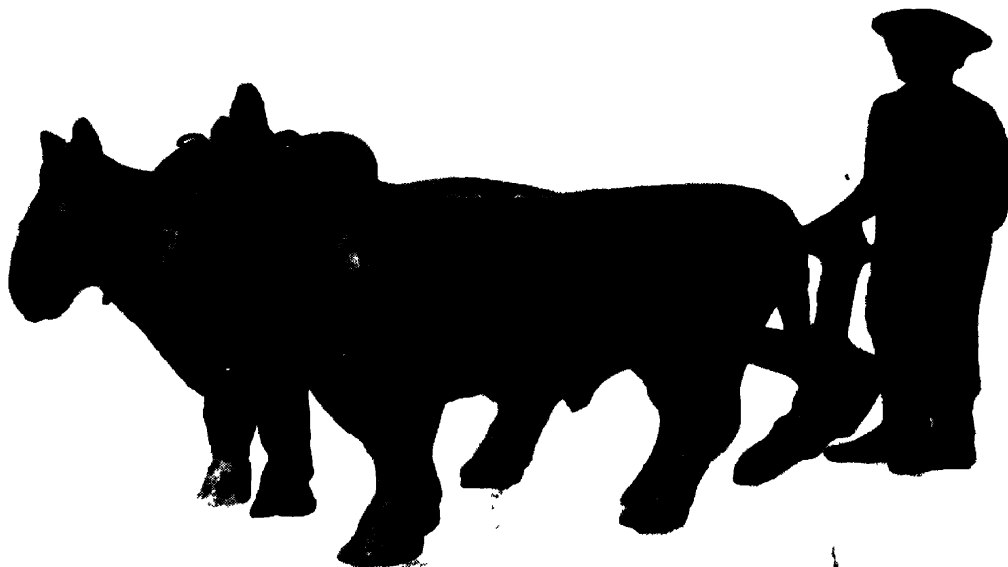
(a)

[Alinari]

17 ETRUSCAN ART, I

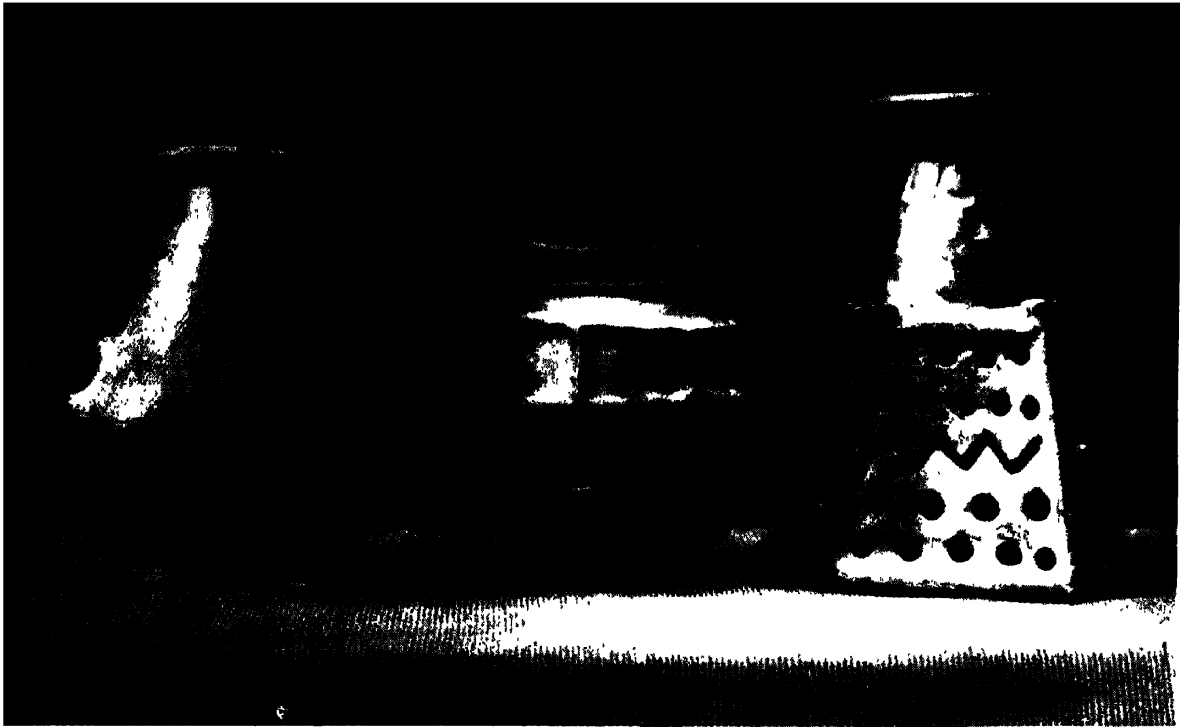
(a) *Etruscan 'hut' type urn, seventh century BC*

(b) *Ploughman with his team, from Arezzo, fourth century BC.
Rome, Museum of the Villa Giulia*



(b)

[S.A.E.M.]



(a)

[Alinari]

18 ETRUSCAN ART, II

(a) 'Buccheri' vases. Rome, Gregorian Etruscan Museum

(b) Clay mouldings, antefixes from a temple. Rome, Museum of the Villa Giulia



c. *Formation of the Old Testament*

There are two essential problems about the formation of the Old Testament, one concerned with the composition of the different books, the other with their transmission. To take the latter and more restricted subject first, it is enough to note that, apart from the manuscripts recently discovered in the Judah desert, we have no very early documents which have preserved the primitive redactions of the various texts. Consequently we can get no farther back than the Massoretic recension, which (as is generally known) takes us to a period between the sixth and eleventh centuries AD and was concerned with establishing the traditional pronunciation by inserting vowels in the text and adding certain notes and variant readings. Collation with brief passages preserved in patristic writings throws some degree of light on the early versions, but such opportunities are few. Another valuable point of comparison is offered by the Greek and Syriac translations of the Hebrew books, which were undoubtedly made from texts different from the Massoretic, although our knowledge of them is inadequate to allow us to reconstruct what is lost.

Yet other difficulties arise when we ask how the various books were transcribed in the period immediately following their composition, before we get to the point at which the text has clearly attained a uniform pattern and been fixed in the shape which (apart from variations due to accident) was later stereotyped by the Massoretic editors: this latter stage was reached in the second century AD. We can start with the period when the Temple and Jerusalem were destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II, a period which followed some time after that of Manasseh's reign during which Yahwist religion suffered unparalleled contamination from syncretism with foreign cults. On occasions such as these a portion of the sacred books got lost, and the textual tradition became very complicated and obscure. To Ezra, whose activity began probably in 398 BC, belongs the credit for the laborious task, carried out along with his restoration of the cult, of seeing that order was restored to the sacred writings and that correct readings were inserted. Tradition ascribed to him many later achievements which were not his doing, but it is certain that intense work was carried out on the texts during this period and in that which followed, with the object of reassembling and rescuing the ancient cultural heritage of the nation. Such alterations, transpositions, and additions as can be shown to have taken place in the intervening years did not modify the substance of the earlier biblical stories, nor did they introduce any mistakes which were either serious or irreparable.

Which, however, were the books already composed by that time, and which were added later to make up the officially recognized 'canon' of the *Old Testament*? This is where our inquiry shifts to the former of the two problems outlined above.

We know that today the books of the Bible are arranged practically in the order corresponding to the chronology of the events they narrate. The

sources of information vary in character and in volume, but in general they were such as to provide an agreed reconstruction of the various phases of Hebrew history in a sufficiently detailed and precise form. The question, however, is whether these writings were composed in the order in which they are now found. This is of particular interest in relation to the *Pentateuch*, which concerns the earliest and most obscure period of Hebrew life, dealing rapidly with the various patriarchs and then dwelling at length on the figure of Moses and the vicissitudes of the people down to the point at which they stood on the threshold of the Promised Land. The theory of G. Wellhausen, which has dominated criticism on this point for a long time past, tended to bring down sharply the date at which these books were compiled, and to regard them as a heap of heterogeneous elements, different in language, conception, and tone, and derived from a multiplicity of sources, which biblical scholars have tracked down with great erudition and acumen. Today, however, many of the assumptions behind this school of criticism have been seriously upset by the wealth of archaeological finds and by a wider knowledge of the adjacent countries, making it possible to establish successful comparisons with the writings and traditions of other peoples. These have irrefutably proved the truth of many statements in the *Pentateuch* which had hitherto been rejected or doubted, and the logical implication has been that the composition of the *Pentateuch* text was a much earlier and more highly organized affair than was previously supposed.

This is not to say that the compilation is to be attributed to Moses in person. Not only can we securely show the existence and employment of earlier sources, but we can also prove later modifications and additions; in the legislative section, for example, and in the historical narrative, too, we can see a progressive development due to the social and religious conditions of later times. It remains true, however, that at the time when Israel first became a people—a moment at which the figure of Moses, as organizer and leader, was undoubtedly dominating the stage—there was formed the nucleus and the substance of the traditions which later came together in the *Pentateuch*. The work can therefore be called Mosaic in origin, even if it will always be futile to attempt precision about the extent of the original version or to determine how the various traditions and collections of laws found their way into the form in which the text exists today. Under the impact of new needs and of new circumstances in their life and culture, the Hebrews made many advances from the religious position established in the Mosaic period, but for all of them the ancient Hebrew leader can be called responsible, for his personality had made an indelible mark on his people. It may be that a middle position of this kind will enable the various schools of criticism to find common ground on which can be undertaken new and fruitful work of exegesis on these writings, which have been the spiritual food of so large a section of mankind.

What we have so far called the *Pentateuch*—a word literally meaning five

'cases', and indicating the way in which the book-rolls read at meetings were kept—was called by the Hebrews 'the Law' *par excellence*. It formed the first and more important part of their biblical canon, and the Law was sometimes used to indicate the whole corpus of inspired books. The second part comprises 'the Prophets', divided into earlier (*Joshua, Judges, Samuel* and *Kings*¹) and later (*Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel*, and twelve minor prophets included in a single book). The assembly of this material was slower and on the whole later than the compilation of the Law; and though some prophets looked after the arrangement of their own writings, the work of others certainly underwent revision at a later date. In addition the transmission of the text has been complicated, since some portions have come down only in the Greek translation, in which additions were not seldom inserted.

The last part of the Hebrew Bible comprises the 'Writings' or 'Hagiographies', namely *Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ruth, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and *Chronicles* (Books I and II of the *Paralipomena*). Since Hebrew orthodoxy held that the Bible canon had been definitely closed at the time of Ezra (see above), there was no place in it for certain later works written in Greek, such as *Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Maccabees*, and some chapters of *Esther* and *Daniel*, although these are accepted by Catholics. Moreover the distribution of the material is different in the two canons, and the order of the books varies considerably. There has been prolonged controversy about these works—called deuterocanonical—but it does not concern our question. We should, however, mention the numerous 'apocryphal' writings which had a particular vogue in the closing days of Judaism and which have been important historically; they have revealed much about the environment which produced them and have had great influence upon later literature.

Hebrew historiography has been entirely dominated by a religious ideal. In telling the story of their nation its writers were moved neither by scholarly interest nor by the desire to praise one or another ruler. The objectives always before them were twofold. First and foremost they aimed to show the will of God in these events, to reveal the providential design which made a unity of them, to exalt the glories of the Lord, and to make clear the power he wielded against any enemy who came against him. Secondly they wanted to admonish their co-religionists, to teach them their duty, and to make them understand present events in the light of their knowledge of what had happened in the past.

Consequently their theory of history was not, as among other peoples, based upon cycles, in which things perennially recurred without advance or progress. It was an open and confident theory, whose upholders believed in the action of God and of Man, and had unquestioning faith in the victory of the good. But from these premises was derived also a tendency which is very evident among Hebrew historical writers, that of raising their work to

the level at which it became a philosophy of history, in fact ultimately a teleological theory, since everything was viewed in religious terms and explained on the strength of divine revelation.

- The Hebrews made history an important element in their belief, since only in history was their God made manifest. To put it another way, historical events allowed them to demonstrate—or so they thought—the truth of their convictions about their people's mission, and the certainty of their Lord's power. This was their bank of proofs, without which Hebrew religion would have lacked solidity and shape for the future.

The keen desire to possess their own account of their own history, in the fullest detail, led the Hebrews in time to collect abundant material, which they preserved, amplified, and transmitted to succeeding generations. So there was created a heritage of chronicles and other stories, which constitute a valuable source of information although it naturally has to be used with caution. Above all the reader must separate off the sections which are simply additions or pictures designed to highlight the religious aspect, the intervention of Yahweh, and so on; in addition he must bear in mind the particular artistic form used in these writings, together with such features as mnemonic devices, rhetorical ornaments, and poetical expression.

The Hebrew historian was much less concerned to reproduce past events with scrupulous accuracy than to draw a moral from these events, and therefore to dramatize a fact in order to achieve greater effect upon the reader. This accounts for the large gaps, the inconsistencies in chronology, the metaphors and stylistic tricks, all of which form part of a conscious literary process.

Writings of the 'wisdom' type are undoubtedly found in all Eastern literature, but in Israel they reached their highest point of development only in the period after the Exile. They are an epilogue in the evolution of biblical thought: indeed some of them are not even accepted into the Hebrew canon because they were composed so late and are very markedly influenced by the ideas of societies outside Palestine. Their recurrent theme, which they went on enunciating with relentless emphasis, was the meaning of man's existence and the duty required of him to live a good life, despite the suffering and passion to which he is subject. The objective of these works is therefore ethical rather than intellectual, and their portrait of the wise man is not so much of a man of learning as of a person who knows how to behave rightly, in the fear of God. In addition great importance necessarily attaches to the problem of pain and punishment; moreover an attempt is often made to personify Wisdom itself, regarded as the chief among all the attributes of God, and language is used which is unfamiliar in the other Old Testament books.

It is easy to find didactic passages in all biblical literature, but this branch of letters is most clearly represented by *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Wisdom*. The fundamental feature of the genre is its use of

parallelism to express moral maxims, but often the whole story is spun out into a parable or allegory, in order to pose—and sometimes to offer a solution of—grave speculative or ethical questions.

Probably only a small portion of the large collection called the 'Proverbs of Solomon' goes back to that king, who in Hebrew tradition was regarded as the wise and just man *par excellence*. The remainder is the work of later but unknown authors, and the book is now composed of nine sets of gnomic sayings and sentences, which are unduly influenced by Egyptian thought (especially the writing of Amenhotep described below) and set forth an excessively utilitarian ethic, essentially directed to the attainment of happiness and earthly success. Yet wise counsels are not wholly lacking, and there are many fine pages, such as the warm eulogy of the virtuous and industrious woman. Owing to the multiplicity of separate sections which go to compose the text, there is marked variety between the different editions; and there are quite a number of differences between the original Hebrew and the Greek version of the Seventy.

The *Book of Job* is a literary masterpiece even when judged by world standards. In poetry of the most exalted kind it attempts to answer the eternal question why the just man suffers without having sinned, if it be not that God, the source and measure of all justice, bears responsibility. The problem is not solved, but the interesting points are the narrative movement of the composition and the large number of detailed considerations which are handled. Historically it is of some importance that we find connections with Accadian wisdom literature, and that the leading figure is presented not as a Hebrew but as an Arab sheik. Views about the date of composition vary between the period of the Captivity and 400 BC, and it is not impossible that the closing chapters are a later addition.

There is some resemblance to *Job* in *Ecclesiastes*—the Greek name used to translate the Hebrew term for a chairman of a public meeting. Unlike *Job*, however, the latter work is not a dialogue, but a collection of observations with no one logical thread running through them, all of them tinged with a vein of deep scepticism, not entirely free from a form of hedonism. By a very common literary fiction the author presents himself as a son of David, and has therefore been identified with Solomon; but internal and stylistic grounds make this identification quite impossible, given that the book was composed about the end of the third century BC by a 'wise man' who knew of the currents of thought being evolved at that time in non-Hebrew circles.

The title *Ecclesiasticus* is given in the Vulgate to a work which in Hebrew may have been a second book called Proverbs and in Greek was entitled 'Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach'. In the course of his writing the author provides various autobiographical information, from which it appears that he was an inhabitant of Jerusalem, cultivated and well-to-do, who composed his book in the first two decades of the second century BC. He presents a panorama of Israelitish moral and religious duties and also develops his

historical theme, the so-called Praise of the ancient patriarchs designed to exalt *Old Testament* heroes. But his main purpose was to inculcate fidelity to the Law. A large portion of the Hebrew text was discovered at the end of the last century on manuscripts preserved in the storehouse belonging to the Cairo synagogue; and this proves that the book, even if not accepted by the Hebrews of Palestine, was none the less recognized by those in Egypt. But for this work too the problems raised by the editorship and the relations between the various versions are extremely complex.

The latest canonical book in the *Old Testament* is *Wisdom*, written in Greek by a Hellenized Hebrew who lived in Egypt in the first century B.C. By the well-known literary fiction the author put out his work under the name of Solomon, but he makes no pretence that he is really to be regarded as such. His purpose was to rescue his co-religionists from the perils of idolatry and to comfort them in their difficulties. Terms belonging to Greek culture are found in abundance, but the lines of thought are in conformity with biblical tradition: of especial note is the advance made in the doctrine of an after-life.

Among the various types of poetry which undoubtedly flourished among the Hebrews from the earliest times, the only ones preserved in the Bible are those linked most closely with the teaching of religion or forms of worship, and those of a lyrical or 'wisdom' character—the last two types cannot be firmly distinguished because there is continual overlapping between them. But what we have is already more than adequate to allow appreciation of Hebrew poetry and a description of the characteristic patterns, although many problems still remain open to discussion and may be insoluble in the present state of our knowledge. It is certain that an essential element was the so-called Law of Parallelism, implying the enunciation of an idea through various parallel concepts, generally forming a couplet in which the two lines composing a verse corresponded one to the other. Either the idea was repeated in similar words (synonymous parallelism); or it was made clearer by a contrasting sentence (antithetic parallelism, the commonest form); or again it was developed by dependent propositions (synthetic or progressive parallelism). A similar scheme can be found in the literatures of other Semitic peoples.

What we cannot yet understand is what technique of rhythm regulated Hebrew poetry, other than the logical technique just explained. We do not know whether the harmony of the verse was provided by the length or quantity of the syllables, or by the number of stresses or accents; and the system of strophes, which must have existed, is entirely obscure. This is sad, but it is easily understandable when we remember the vicissitudes undergone by these texts before they attained their present form, and also the various methods followed to transcribe them phonetically. Earlier paragraphs have described the prophetic and didactic books, in which the poetical sections are substantial and important. Other specimens of Hebrew

poetry include blessings (for instance of wives and mothers), warlike exhortations (the victory song of Deborah in *Judges* v is full of fine epic phrases),² elegies (lamentations), and songs of thanksgiving. But mention must above all be made of the *Psalms* (or Book of Praise) and the *Song of Songs* (the superlative title given to the most sublime song of all).

The *Psalms* are a collection of about 150 hymns which were sung with musical accompaniment (whence the Greek word *psalmos*). In all of them religious sentiment is extremely keen, but there is considerable variation in the themes, which has allowed later scholars to construct regular systems of classification, often excessively complicated. The psalter as we have it was undoubtedly composed over a long period; and though some portions may go back to very early times, it only achieved a definite form after the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. But it is an exaggerated view which treats almost all the psalms as post-Captivity or really late, although some certainly refer to events of the period of the Maccabees. A fair number may reasonably be attributed to King David, since the general reorganization of the cult which he certainly promoted was favourable to the development of music and of songs composed for collective prayer and other liturgical uses; but if we trusted the titles prefixed to each psalm, which are ancient enough to carry weight though they are not actually authentic, we should have a number varying (according to the different versions) from 70 to 85, and this is too high. We need not dwell on the diverse systems of numbering and the various divisions of the collection which have been put forward from ancient to quite modern times; and there is no help to be gained from the names of authors indicated in the titles mentioned a moment ago (they may well be the names of persons who compiled the first incomplete collections).

The simplest in structure are the hymns about God and about his works in nature and in history; they have little psychological interest, but are rich in lyric poetry, and from the religious standpoint they are the least committed. Apart from these, a fair number of psalms are devoted to lamentations both individual and public, and an equal number to thanksgiving, expressing joy for the realization of something which had been requested in imploring language in the opening verses. Some psalms are relatively didactic in character, others again have a prophetic or eschatological tone, sometimes with quite explicit references to the Messiah. In all these poems we meet precise rules of composition corresponding to the literary genre which has been followed. Apart from their artistic merit, which is remarkable and can easily be recognized by any reader, the *Psalms* contain thought which reflects the most widely accepted Hebrew ideas about the justice of God, retribution for human actions, the destiny of the Chosen People, the many ways of backsliding into irreligion, and the like.

The *Song of Songs* does not fit into any of the usual classifications of literary genres, and this may be the reason why there have been so many interpretations of its content—collections of love songs, pastoral drama, praise of

marriage, a close pact between God and the Hebrews, and so on. But what matters is that this short composition is a work of the highest poetry and of stupendous literary beauty, written just before the Captivity or perhaps just after it (linguistic grounds make the latter hypothesis more likely, while the loftiness of inspiration suggests the former). It is in dialogue form, which reminds one of the 'Disputes of Lovers', well known in the literature of so many peoples.

d. *Egypt*

Literary activity in Egypt was principally concerned in our period with the production of religious texts, including some in demotic. These included hymns to the gods, lamentations of Isis over the corpse of Osiris, funeral liturgies pregnant with magical formulae, and glosses, the meaning of which is not always clear to us, on the *Book of the Dead* or the *Book of Breathing*. In epic genre we have fragments of the cycle known as the *Petubastic Saga*, recording the wars between Egypt and Assyria with heroic episodes and heroic style.

Stories of a mixed variety, neither purely historical nor definitely imaginary and romantic, have been found on a text full of lacunae, in which the Theban Wenamūn (Twenty-first Dynasty) tells his adventures after he had been sent to Syria on a Phoenician ship to get timber for the barque of Ammon. Before he landed at Byblos his goods were plundered, but he restored his fortunes by robbing the native inhabitants; for this he was in danger of not being received by the king of the city, until a courtier who was a catechumen of Ammon interceded on his behalf. By playing up the importance of Ammon and providing guarantees he succeeded with difficulty in obtaining the timber he wanted. But when he left the harbour he was attacked by the people he had robbed, and was only saved by a storm, which cast him up on Cyprus. The work breaks off in the middle of a dialogue with a Cypriot queen.

Two other works of fiction have as their chief figures Khaemwēse, the fabulous magician who was the son of Ramses II, and Khaemwēse's son who was a magician too. The father had managed to procure a book enabling him to understand the speech of animals and to see the gods; the son was engaged in conflict with magicians throughout his various reincarnations, which allowed him to visit the underworld and see the rewards and punishments given to the souls of the dead.

A new group of 'silent sages', content with their lot and living a life apart from the world, are found in the various collections of maxims, of which the teaching of Amenhotep (Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties) is an example. These contain a series of didactic proverbs, teaching one not to oppress the poor, make friends with hot-tempered men, remove boundary stones, aspire to riches, and so on. The analogy with Hebrew precepts, for instance *Proverbs* 22-3, is extremely curious, and too close to be accidental.

For various reasons the Hebrew work is more likely to derive from the Egyptian than the Egyptian from the Hebrew.

Among lyrical works certain inspired love poems are worthy of note, together with a hymn in praise of death, and a number of funerary epigrams in verse.

e. *Assyria*

The greatest period of Assyrian literary culture was probably reached under Ashur-banipal (669-626 BC). By good fortune a large part of his library has been found collected in the palaces of Nineveh; in it the king had brought together everything surviving from Mesopotamian literature back to the earliest Sumerian times, and had told his scribes to make transcriptions of documents from every source. These works were copied on to innumerable terracotta tablets, with a mark to indicate the tablet number belonging to the original work, and others showing whence it came and to what literary genre it belonged. Other texts have come down to us on metal plates and on flat pieces of stone. Like the other departments of their life, including their science, which had practical rather than theoretical aims, Mesopotamian literature was traditionalist and static, and the same sort of thing got reproduced over thousands of years. Assyrian texts derive not only from the Babylonian period, but even from Sumerian prototypes. The scribes in the temple schools, who transcribed or translated the texts, allowed themselves little freedom: some change of wording, a few glosses, and an occasional note of 'ul idi' (I don't know) on illegible passages. It is rarely that, as on historical inscriptions, Assyrian work assumes any features which are original or peculiar.

So the Assyrian still handed down mythological poems which went back to the Sumerians, such as the Poem of Creation (*Enuna Eliah*) in seven cantos of rhythmic verse rich in alliteration; and there were half-mythical epics like the poem of Gilgamesh, twelve rhythmic cantos in praise of the beings known as the 'Mesopotamian Dioscuri'.

They also transcribed and sometimes imitated the ancient Sumerian or Accadian Hymns to the Gods, which often contained fine poetry like the *Hymn to the Sun*. They had 'penitential psalms' like those of the Hebrews in which the writer, often the king, would confess his sins and his moral misery. Then there were the 'purificatory prayers', of which the *Lamentations of King Ashur-banipal to the Goddess Ninlil* are outstanding examples.

There are many oracular texts, some of which derive from Kings Esarhaddon and Ashur-banipal. Among them we may note requests to the god for counsel about military expeditions, sieges, the choice of magistrates, and so on, with the divine answers attached to each. There are quite a few ritual writings for use by the priests in every kind of rite and ceremony; and there are countless augural texts, especially for use in hepatoscopy (these are sometimes inscribed on a model of a liver), which show what might happen if the

particular features indicated were encountered in the entrails of the sacrificial animal.

Other types of writing include incantations, which show first the ill afflicting the author and the demon causing it, then the rites he must perform, and finally the curse he must utter. With these go 'liftings of hands', which are prayers in misfortune (*shú-ila*); 'kindlings', or rites designed to destroy witchcraft by fire; and other utterances directed against fevers, headaches, and so on.

In writings of the chronicle or semi-historical type there is a clear contrast between the Assyrian period and those which preceded it. In earlier days the inscriptions of kings, if they were not limited to the king's name and some mention of his ancestry, were normally concerned with the construction of temples, canals, and the like, rather than with war. Under the Assyrian kings the long inscriptions on cylinders or prisms are intended more as boastful propaganda than as historical evidence. Year after year they tell of military exploits, with grandiloquent and cruel details of slaughter, often no doubt including exaggeration about Assyrian victories and other peoples' defeats. Sometimes the record is divided into different areas of action; sometimes it tells also of building works. A few texts of Ashur-banipal have real literary merit. Some inscriptions, generally called the Synchronous History, and mainly composed on the occasion of a treaty with foreign peoples to deal with boundary questions, give lists of warlike operations and earlier treaties; others preserve lists of kings with their genealogies, providing chronological data together with information about a king's death and place of burial, or sometimes lists of eponymous officials.

There is, of course, no literary value in the legal and economic texts, including the laws themselves. Of varying merit are the numerous public and private letters, a few fables, and occasional collections of proverbs and moral maxims. Then there is a considerable output, mainly unoriginal, on science, or rather on the practical application of various sciences, including philology, grammar, mathematics, geometry, geography, medicine, chemistry, botany, and zoology. Of these mention has been made in Chapter III.

f. *Phoenician and Carthaginian Literature*

Practically no Phoenician literature survives from this period, since the religious poems and poems of creation found at Ugarit are considerably earlier. All we have amounts to a few annalistic fragments, and an occasional inscription, generally short: even on law and economics we possess too little evidence. The view of V. Bérard that there was a periegetic work illustrating the Mediterranean coast, which he conceived to be a source of information for the Homeric epic, is pure hypothesis, and we cannot accept it.

Again, we know very little about literary output at Carthage. Our knowledge is limited to two works on travels both written between 550 and 480 (see p. 142, and Pliny, *N.H.*, II, 169, '*Carthaginiis potentia florente*'), by Hanno who

explored the Atlantic coast of Africa, and Himilco who did the same on the coast of Europe. We possess Hanno's work in a Greek translation which appears to belong to the fourth century BC; a Greek translation of Himilco also existed, perhaps written about 400, and was used very much later by Avienus for his *Ora Maritima*.

There is no reason to think that any significant number of the works found in the library at Carthage by the Romans in 146 BC (Pliny, XVIII, 22) went back to the period before 500 BC, rather than being writings of the fifth to second centuries. We shall deal later with Mago's famous book on agriculture.

g. *Persia*

Only two kinds of Persian text have come down to us, commemorative inscriptions and religious writings; but it may be presumed that other kinds existed. Athenaeus, for example (XIII, 25), records a graceful story about Odati and Zariadre; and scientific writing can hardly have been lacking.

Commemorative inscriptions must have been fairly numerous; and indirectly they were certainly a source for the information about Medo-Persian kings provided by Greek writers, such as Herodotus, Ctesias, and Chares. A short inscription in three languages was found in the palace of Cyrus (558-529) at Pasargadae; and Strabo, XV, p. 730, tells of another on Cyrus' tomb. On the other hand the texts on two gold plates which purport to derive from the parents of Cyrus the Great are forgeries, probably of the time of Artaxerxes II. The most noteworthy inscriptions concern Darius I (521-486), in the first place a relatively long one accompanied by reliefs, which can be admired on a crag at Bīsūtūn. This must surely have had religious rather than propaganda purposes, because from 300 feet below it is practically impossible to read. It has two versions, composed in a variety of Persian, Accadian, and Elamite languages; and in epic tones it first recounts the events of the struggle against the usurper Gaumata, which brought Darius to the throne, then lists the king's military achievements, and concludes with a prayer to later generations to treat the inscription with respect (as they did down to the last war). Another inscription of Darius is cut on the rock tomb of Naqsh-i-Rustem, on which the king starts with his profession of faith, and then lists the countries he had conquered while the monument was being presented to its readers. The palace at Susa has another commemorative inscription, enumerating the materials used by artists of various nations in its construction, and there is yet another recording the canal dug between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

In the *Avesta* are preserved certain documents of a religious nature. Parts of them indeed, the *Yāst*, may go back to ancient cults before the introduction of Zoroastrianism. The *Gāthā* are written in archaic language, and may preserve poetical summaries of Zarathustra's soliloquies, or possibly pieces which were inserted from the start between the narrative sections; their tone is lofty, but they are not easy to interpret. The remainder of the *Avesta*

is a single section of a large work originally comprising twenty-one *nask* (pages), put together by the priestly class and bearing on liturgy and ritual. The language is of later date than that used in the *Gātha*. In the present writer's view this whole work, in all its parts, was transmitted by word of mouth over centuries and was only written down in an authoritative version in Parthian times. At the best there can have been a series of versions, each one containing revisions of the last.

h. Greek Literature

The Epic. In the Greek world religious songs and epic first evolved at the same time. The religious songs created the myths and made them known, some of them being naïve rationalizations, others subtle allegories, others again fantastic inventions with a romantic background. All such myths contributed markedly to the humanization of the gods, who were conceived in the guise of princes on earth; and the myths also promoted syncretism of a kind which gave more flesh and blood to all the major deities.

The Homeric poems constantly allude to prayers, vows, and hymns to the gods and to the dead; also to mythical stories, known to the readers, about the Amazons, the Argonauts, the Centaurs, and the Lapiths. Moreover in *Odyssey* VIII the very human episode of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite is given full rein. The thirty-four surviving 'Homeric Hymns' may give us some idea of this religious literature. It seems clear, however, that from the start there existed regular cycles of religious poems: for instance about the struggle of the Danaoi, spirits of clouds, against the Lukioi, spirits of light; or the rape of Helen (Selene, the Moon) by a divine lover (the New Moon), and her rescue by a couple of young gods; only later were these two stories localized on earth, and then merged into the epic lays about the conquest of Troy.

For parallel with the religious songs there were growing up poems which were genuinely epic, and which preserved a record in verse of adventurous enterprises, accomplished in a period of history which was regarded as paramountly the epic period. It was in fact the time when, under assault by bold parties of Greeks, the fortresses and cities of pre-Greek peoples had fallen one after another into the invader's hands: the Minoan cities of Crete, the Cycladic in the Aegean islands, the Anatolian cities facing the Aegean Sea from Aeolis to Doris and farther east as far as Pamphylia, Cyprus, and the coast of Syria. Moreover the exploits of the new cities, which had to form federations to combat the original inhabitants, seemed so important that they were recorded not only in Greek writings but in works written by foreigners. There is no doubting the evidence that an ancient epic of genuine Greek origin was in existence before the Homeric poems. Examination of the *Iliad* shows accomplished rules of metre, virtuosity of style, a hybrid language of literary type corresponding to no dialect that was actually spoken,

and the use of concepts and terms which had become fossilized in the language and were no longer understood. Every one of these factors seems to make it certain that this particular literary genre had already undergone a long process of development. The same is indicated by the assumption in the poem that its audience knew, without being told, both the personages of the action and the events of the ten years of war, although the poem itself deals only with a short period in the tenth year. Indeed in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the cyclic poems we find evidence that a story in an earlier epic is presupposed. In this two heroes from north-east Greece, Achilles and Odysseus, were leaders in the conquest of twelve maritime and eleven inland cities (Troy being simply the twelfth of the latter); and all were in the area of the later Aeolic colonies, which were precisely divided into groups of twelve and settled from north-east Greece.

Yet the *Iliad* as we have it was composed in Ionia, and is no longer a straightforward epic of the kind its Aeolic model must have been. Instead it is a mixture of epic and romance, and is concerned not with the conquest of a country but with the fictitious recovery of a woman. This is because epic subjects have been fused with the mythical topics of which we spoke just now, and the fusion has created a new kind of poem. In fact while epic originally aimed at glorifying real persons who had been deified, the mythical poems were concerned with gods who had been brought down to the level of heroes, and who behaved accordingly. The deeds of heroic mortals, aided by the divinities whose progeny they were said to be, were mingled with humanized gods; and in the outcome a poet would sing at one and the same time of great kings of old, divine 'shepherds of peoples', of local heroes, and of gods in human shape, all three being mixed together in the same story.

We know something of the life of the bards, for references to them in the *Odyssey* are clear enough: they seem to have been markedly different from the 'rhapsodes' who followed them, and from the medieval troubadours. Each had a permanent position at one of the many courts, so clearly they could only give pleasure to their audiences if they added continually to their repertoires, which came to comprise both familiar stories and also novelties. A bard would recite songs he had heard, and add others of his own composition; he would repeat old stories if his audience asked for them, and also follow his own fancy in singing of new ones. In a single performance the bard Demodocus is said in *Odyssey* VIII to have sung in turn of the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, the loves of Aphrodite and Ares, and the stratagem of the wooden horse.

Clearly then every bard would inherit something from his predecessors, introduce changes of his own, and make additions. The transmission from bard to bard was partly through word of mouth and partly (from the eighth century onwards) in writing; it may be that there came into being written summaries or skeletons, which each singer could fill out in his own way. In one place (*Odyssey*, VIII, 481) the poem represents the bards as being

joined together by mutual ties—a band of men beloved of the Muses—and naturally the repertoire of a singer would pass from father to son and from master to pupil. Our sources tell us of a *genos* on the island of Chios who called themselves Homeridai: they were said to be descendants of Homer and handed down songs from generation to generation. It is on these lines that we must look for the most probable explanation of the way all the Homeric poems took shape; for without losing their organic conception they reflect in their different portions a great diversity of periods and ideas, or perhaps one should rather describe them as reflecting a whole process of evolution.

The way in which the poems took on repeated elaborations and additions becomes obvious if we look at the episodic character of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and at the continual breaks in the main stories. In the *Iliad* certain portions stand out as the most perfect and noble; their forms, artistic methods, and means of achieving effect all display similar features; and together they constitute a complete and logical series of basic episodes. These are the wrath of Achilles (I), the unsuccessful attempt of Agamemnon to fight without him (XI), the death of Patroclus (XVI), the reconciliation of Achilles with Agamemnon (beginning of XVII), and the death of Hector (XXII). These may be attributed to 'Homer', or at any rate to the founder of the Homeridai, the greatest of them all. All the rest is composed of episodes which have been inserted or added, some of them linked together in a chain, and most of them slowing up the action as it was conceived by the first bard. Here then there have been later revisions and more than one general plan: we can tell that from the plot, the style, the artistic technique, and the reminiscences of the earlier lays, reminiscences which sometimes become regular refrains. Similarly the *Odyssey* was certainly not conceived at a single time. There are too many subsidiary sections retarding the action; moreover the *Telemachia* (I–IV) was quite obviously an addition, and the second *Nekyia* (XXIV) is clearly late and derivative. If we disregard interpolations and minor traces of touching up by later hands, we get the broad impression that the poem was created at three main periods: from the first we have the story of Odysseus' adventurous journeys; in the second was added his arrival in Ithaca and the revenge taken on the Suitors; and lastly the *Telemachia* reflects a later desire to give the 'Return' of Odysseus its place among the Returns of the other Greek heroes. But even the section which appears to be earliest, that dealing with the hero's journeys, shows clearly a sudden switch from the Black Sea to the waters round Sicily and Italy; and there are other signs of addition and revision.

As a whole the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are trying to depict two periods of Greek colonization which were far apart in time: the period when the Greeks established themselves on the seaboard of Asia Minor in the fourteenth to tenth centuries BC after they had destroyed the native cities, and the period of the pre-colonial voyages in the farthest parts of the north-east and north-west, the voyages which gave rise to the eighth-century foundations. But in

particular sections the contradictions are immense; and they are not just the product of fiction, since they correspond to different actual points in the history of culture and events. For example Ilium in the earliest passages is a small city near the sea (compare the excavations at Hissarlik), whose attackers are few in number and its defenders equally so: but in the latest sections it is imagined to be vast, lofty, and far from the sea, defended by the whole barbarian world against an attack by all the Greeks. The historical geography of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in its placing of the various Greek and barbarian states, shows sharp contrasts between different sections; this too is a reflection of actual conditions obtaining in different periods and is not the product of fancy.

The contradictions caused by these earlier and later backgrounds are so marked that if we set out the data of the poems in the right way we can follow all the phases in the cycle of political change—from kingship to the rise to power of the aristocratic landowners, and from the resulting oligarchies to the first struggles preceding the third phase, when wealth had been accumulated mainly by means of piracy and commerce. The poems testify to the early fear of the dangers, real or exaggerated, arising from voyages in distant seas, designed sometimes to barter Greek wares against foodstuffs and raw materials, at other times to engage in raiding and the capture of slaves. Yet we also find references to the successive phases of colonization, the Phaeacians being one example. In contrasting passages of epic we can follow the evolution of religious thought. First a list of principal divinities is grouped around Zeus in a deliberate hierarchy, a process tending in the direction of monotheism. Later there is an attempt to rebut criticism of the excessive humanization of the gods by insistence on their moral nature. A place is found for freedom of the human will, for the beginnings of ethical ideas, and for the birth of philosophical thinking.

The institution of the family, as it evolved over several centuries, is shown us in all its workings—marriage, birth, death, dowries, wills, and so on. Slavery appears in the form both of servants living in the household and of workmen engaged on primitive industries. We can trace the rise of magistracies, tribunals, and the earliest conceptions of law. In warfare, we find the different types of defensive armour which were used in different periods, the large shields giving place to the small round variety; and there are different types of offensive weapons. The fighting by chieftains from chariots in open array against a background of amorphous masses of troops is succeeded by cavalry with the common soldiers grouped in tactical units, and eventually by the phalanx of hoplites found in Tyrtæus, and with Gyges. For navigation flat-bottomed boats give place to ships with over a hundred rowers.

The changing tastes of the bards' audiences can be seen in a change in the favourite kinds of story. At one time they were bloodthirsty tales of war, then we find adventure stories, then again poems containing dialogues full

of human character and finally the main features are highly lyrical passages provoking intimacy of emotion.

In the earliest stages only copper and bronze are used: then we pass to a period in which iron starts as a rarity but soon becomes the dominant metal, although bronze still maintains its use for the more artistic and durable objects. There are sections from which we can deduce the relative value of the precious metals, both to one another and to other goods; and a few passages tell us of the beginning of textile, dyeing, and metalworking operations.

In the contrasting data we can also see passing before our eyes the phases in the development of palaces, houses, walls, shrines (and later of temples with their statues), and finally of irrigation and agricultural works. Funeral rites are shown, first of one kind and then of another. We can see the origin of the Panhellenic games, and the successive stages in the history of dress, furniture, carving, and the goldsmith's art. To say therefore that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in their various sections reflect the diversity in the phases of Greek life from c. 900 to c. 650 BC is simply to state an incontrovertible fact which should be more widely recognized.

The Rhapsodes: The Epic Cycle and other 'Homeric' Works. When the monarchies fell and after them the possessions of the great aristocratic houses got broken up, the bard who in earlier days had his permanent abode in a palace had to become a 'rhapsode' or wandering singer. He addressed himself to an increasingly varied and numerous public, including more and more of the common people, in the open spaces of cities, at markets and at feasts. It was to the work of these men, and also to the transmission of written texts, that Greece owed the dissemination of the Homeric epic over all the mainland and the colonies as well, partly for the pleasure it gave and partly to give instruction about the past. Its text, now practically established, was like a permanent inheritance in the Greek world, and it provided a perpetual source of evidence for historians and dramatists, as well as for Greek religion and above all for Greek literary language.

The texts of the two poems were now settled, on account of the more elaborate revision which had been devoted to them and because they had a greater reputation and were more perfect than other epics. What remained for the last bards and then for the rhapsodes was the opportunity to take the two great poems as models and so to repeat, recast, and expand all the other lays. Some of these were about Troy, on the first nine years of the war and on the events after the death of Hector; others were on different subjects, starting with the 'Returns' of the heroes, parts of which had been published in earlier times but had been left incomplete and fragmentary, without being made into an organic whole. The events before those treated in the *Iliad* gave material for the *Cypria*, attributed to Hegesias or Stasinus; those after Hector's death were the theme of the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliou Persis* (*Sack*

of Troy), attributed to Arctinus, and of the *Little Iliad*, of which Lesches of Mitylene was said to be the author. In the *Nostoi* or *Returns*, on the other hand, Agias of Troezen dealt with the adventurous homecomings of the heroes (apart from Odysseus) from the Trojan War; and in the *Telegonia* Eugammon of Cyrene collected the legends about the deaths of Odysseus and his descendants.

But these poems, better called fictional chronicles in verse, were the works of relatively second-rate artists, and never had a popularity comparable with that of the Homeric poems, although they were used as a source by scholars and artists in later times. The same was true of the similar works which developed other cycles of legends—the *Titanomachia*, *Oedipodea*, *Thebais*, *Amphiarai Exelasis*, *Epigoni*, *Alcmaeonis*, *Minyas*, *Oechaliae Halosis*, *Heracleis*, and so on.³

But around the Homeric poems there also grew up other types of literature. First there were the 'Homeric Hymns', originally preludes or invocations to the gods, which singers would preface to their recitations. Of these we possess thirty-four, of very varying date and merit.⁴ Secondly the ever-growing contrast between men's actual environment and the heroic world idealized by the bards led to parodies of the Homeric poems—the *Margites* (*Simple Simon*), the *Batrachomyomachia* (*Battle of Frogs and Mice*), the *Lawsuit* between Zeus and Hera, and many more.

The Hesiodic didactic poetry. The newly-educated public of Greece, both hearers and readers, found in the new epic forms a way of satisfying its nascent desire to learn about history. At the same time scientific curiosity was beginning; and this was satisfied by didactic writing, which as a result became very common. We may call the new fashion 'Hesiodic', though it is already to be seen in some later passages of the 'Homeric' epic. The Catalogue of Ships in the second book of the *Iliad* is really a piece of early work on historical geography; the list of Famous Women in the eleventh *Odyssey* is very like the *Ehoiai*⁵ attributed to Hesiod; the list of those suffering punishments, in the same book, is already in the genre of moralizing treatises; and some of the lists of heroes and explanations of their pedigrees (*Iliad*, VI, 154; II, 100 ff.) foreshadow the *Theogony*.

Epic and sacred hymns provided information about gods and heroes, but it was episodic, fragmentary, and inconsistent. The Greeks wanted to know clearly the relationship of these beings both to one another and also to the noble clans and families who claimed descent from them. They therefore asked for works which could offer a harmonious picture of this kind, both on a Panhellenic and on a local scale.

Tradition ascribes to Hesiod (although a reference in the exordium in fact rules him out)⁶ the poem of rather more than a thousand lines called the *Theogony*. This gives a fairly systematic list of divinities arranged in time periods and generations. The list is much less monotonous than it

might have been, partly because the poet has inserted six detailed descriptions of the gods' more important doings; these are artistic pieces conceived at a later date.

The last lines of the *Theogony* speak of heroes born from unions between goddesses and mortals. The *Ehoiai* and the *Catalogues*, also attributed to Hesiod, are merely complementary pieces, the former enumerating the women who were loved by gods, the latter establishing the relationships between hero ancestors of illustrious families' on the one hand and both gods and mortals on the other.

Similar types of poem were the *Descent of Theseus to Hades*, which gave a list of great heroes of the past, and the *Melampodia*, which told of the famous seers. There were also genealogical works confined to particular cities and particular clans.

The Hesiodic didactic works so far mentioned were the precursors of historical writing. There is another work which is allied less with history than with philosophy, exact science, and personal lyric, possessing sections in each one of these genres. This is the *Works and Days*, a short poem genuinely attributable to Hesiod, though obvious additions and later hands have left it in a very disordered condition. It comprises an exhortation to toil accompanied by a large collection of myths, allegories, moral precepts, proverbs, and also lyrical passages. Advice is provided for each season of the farmer's year, lessons of a technical kind being interspersed with enthusiastic descriptions of country life. There is also advice on navigation, for the farmers who had to take to the sea to sell their produce; there is moral counsel; and finally there is a section on the calendar of lucky and unlucky days.

Learned tradition has concentrated most didactic poetry upon the name of Hesiod (just as most epic was centred round that of Homer). But the references to their author made by the poems themselves are contradictory and ambiguous: it is hard to say whether he was really a Boeotian or a native of Asiatic Cumae, or perhaps a man who had lived in Boeotia but remained essentially Asiatic. This casts doubt on the commonly accepted view that epic is a product of Asia Minor but didactic poetry a product of the Greek mainland. As regards the date of composition there is no value in the traditional evidence about Hesiod's supposed life, which is related to the equally fictitious life of Homer. The environment depicted in the *Works and Days* undoubtedly corresponds to that of the seventh century, although some of the added sections take us down to an even later period.⁷

Elegiac and Iambic lyrical poetry. Quite a few of the cultivated lyric genres, which under the influence of a keener individualism began to take shape from the seventh century onwards, had their origins in the preceding period. Indeed this was recognized by tradition, which provides lists of many ancient singers, real or fictitious; and the Homeric epic frequently refers to

songs sung at dances, weddings, victory celebrations, and funerals, as also to poems of both lamentation and invective. Moreover examples of popular songs and of ditties sung at work have actually come down to us. Similarly certain musical instruments go back to remote antiquity. Already in the Mycenaean Age there was a stringed instrument, of varying shape and a varying number of strings, and a wind instrument which we call the flute; and besides strictly instrumental music the epic poets know of music associated with solo and choral singing, and also with the dance.

The lyre, which made it possible for the same person to sing and play at once, had been used by the bards to accompany their recitals, which were made in clear and descriptive hexameters. But the faster and more sprightly metres required either instruments with many strings or else accompaniment by a musician playing the flute (*aulos*). The development of flute technique permitted gradations of tones to suit the sentiments which had to be expressed. Finally the use of zither and flute together encouraged the growth of new forms and new metres, for choral as well as for solo singing, until we finally reach the 'antiphonal' choruses in which male, female, and child voices were all combined.

Dactylic metre, a heavy and solemn measure in four-time with the beat at the beginning of each foot, had hitherto been employed for epic, religious, didactic, and moral poems. Now when flute accompaniment made two performers combine, the metre took on syncopated forms as well; and from these was derived the distich of elegy, which could express pain and pleasure, love, friendship, counsel, and rebuke, in a dignified manner without any violence or jerkiness. The earliest elegists lived in the earlier part of the seventh century, the most notable being Callinus of Ephesus, whose fragments allude to the Cimmerian inroads on Lydia and the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. The songs (exhortations) of the Spartan Tyrtaeus in the third quarter of the seventh century (the days of the Second Messenian War) were very similar in purpose; and Tyrtaeus was also the author of a short poem called *Eunomia* to allay the quarrels among his fellow-citizens by reminding them of the good order which had prevailed in the city under the constitution issued by the Delphic oracle. In addition he wrote 'embateria', in anapaestic verse; these were songs to be chanted by soldiers at the moment of an attack.

Another author of political and patriotic elegy, though more famous for his melancholy and exquisite elegies of love, was Mimnermus of Colophon, an early sixth-century poet (one fragment alludes to the eclipse of the sun in 585).⁸ A contemporary of his was the Athenian poet and politician Solon (whose reforms belong to 594 or 592 BC), the author of political, gnomic, and religious elegies. The value of these consists in the conciliatory nature of his moral and political arguments and in the fineness of his religious thinking.

Moralizing elegiacs were also written by Phocylides of Miletus (*floruit*

c. 540 BC), the authentic fragments of whose work (an actual poem attributed to him is a late forgery) are reflections on ethical ideas distilled into short sentences of a kind easy to remember.

In the period when elegy was reaching its acme and beginning to decline, the epigram, often in dactylic couplets but sometimes in iambic trimeters, was beginning to come into its own. It was first used in the sixth century by anonymous authors of inscriptions on tombs and monuments, and then reached its noblest form in the writings of Simonides of Ceos.

As well as dactylic rhythm more nimble and lively metres in three-time came to be used. One was the flexible trochee, used for love songs, another the vigorous iambic, for invective and comic verse. Both these metres moved in a way which was close to normal speech when affected by tears or laughter. The first poet to achieve dazzling effects from them was Archilochus, who was born at Paros, the bastard of a nobleman and a slave girl, and lived in the first half of the seventh century. He was crossed in love, heavily involved in political party-strife, and went as a colonist to Thasos at a time when the Thracians were menacing the island: then he became a mercenary soldier and died while still young. His most famous genre was iambic satire, which he used with remarkable facility for changes in expression. This proletarian with an aristocratic education can be idealistic or impudent, ferocious or graceful, violent or ironical, bitter or genial; and his work is full of graphic pictures, or profound reflections, and of fables and digressions in which we even find animals in human guise. Archilochus' reputation as a poet made him worthy to be classed with Homer.

An approximate contemporary of Archilochus was Semonides of Samos, who took part in the colonization of Amorgos. Besides his elegiac verse, which includes a *History of Samos*, he wrote iambs, not personal invective, but satire of a general and almost gnomic kind. The best-known are a fragment on human misery and the so-called *Censure of Women*: the latter divides women into ten species, seven derived from vicious types of animal, two from earth and sea, and one from the useful hard-working bee.

At the end of the sixth century Hipponax of Ephesus, who lived in exile at Clazomenae, marks a last rude stage in the decline of iambic. This was a mendicant poet, both violent and trivial, who wrote fierce invectives and also touching descriptions of misery and despair. But the metre which he had refined was left as a heritage to two other genres, comedy (see pp. 281 f.) and the animal fable. The origins of the latter form of story-telling are certainly fairly ancient: there are already examples in Hesiod, Archilochus, and the *Batrachomyomachia*. Its subjects passed from one city to another, being handed on by word of mouth between traders, travellers, mercenaries, and slaves, until the repertoires possessed by different people often became inextricably mixed up. Tradition tells us of a half-legendary figure called Aesopus, a wit and comedian, who may have lived at the end of the sixth century but about whose history there is no general agreement. To him is

attributed a collection of animal fables in prose, though it is sometimes cited in verse and was continually being re-edited.

Monodic lyric. Particular gods, and above all Apollo, were honoured by the composition of 'nomoi', liturgical hymns sung by soloists to accompaniment of the zither (*nomos citharodicos*) or of the flute (*nomos aulodicos*); or sometimes they would consist only of a musical passage played on the flute (*nomos auleticos*). The supposed inventor of the *nomos citharodicos* was Terpander of Antissa in Lesbos, who migrated to Sparta and is alleged to have there been victorious in the Carnean contest of 676 BC; his songs were accompanied by a zither of seven strings and were composed in various metres. His successor was Clonas, possibly a native of Tegea in Arcadia, who brought in the *nomos aulodicos*, especially for use in processions.

At the same time in the island of Lesbos another development was taking place. This was the personal lyric, or 'melic', which had as its basic subjects love, wine, and politics. Its songs were intimate and melodious, and were accompanied by instruments with up to twenty strings (the *barbitos*, *magadis*, or *pectis*), which could play both very high and very low notes. The metres varied, and attention was given to construction of strophes. The two earliest and best known melic poets were Alcaeus and Sappho, contemporaries of one another: tradition dates them to the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries, but they were still alive about the middle of the sixth, since we are told that Alcaeus fought against Athens for possession of Sigeum in Peisistratus' time.⁹ Alcaeus was an aristocrat of Mitylene on Lesbos, though exiled to distant lands on account of his enmity with the tyrants and also with Pittacus, and he wrote in an Aeolic literary dialect. Some of his poems are eloquent and forceful utterances on political topics; others are fresh and lively banqueting songs, in praise of wine; others again are in praise of Apollo or Hermes or Athena. But the most beautiful, sensual, and delicate of his works are love poems, for boys (*epheboi*) like Lykos or for Sappho. His metres show great variety.

Sappho too was an aristocrat of Lesbos, born at Eresus, and her life was that of the class to which she belonged. After a period of exile in Sicily she returned to her country and there kept a girls' school, where music, singing dancing, and elegant manners were taught, but (so it appears from the fragments) there was also instruction in moral behaviour. She was attacked by the Attic comedians, who accused her of immorality and introduced childish anachronisms into their charges. But this is probably all legend, due partly to malicious invention and partly to misunderstanding of feminine customs which were freer than those current at Athens. The charge is refuted not only by the majority of her poems, but by the regard in which she was held by her fellow-citizens, who had her head engraved on their coins in Hellenistic-Roman times.

Her poems were in Aeolic dialect and used many metres: ancient editors

collected them into nine books. There are songs of passionate love, tender, pathetic, and sometimes angry; there are epithalamia of marked spontaneity and freshness, full of tasteful wit; and there are hymns to the gods. With her exquisite choice of language and her ear for melody went directness of emotion, deep understanding of human feeling, daring imagery, and a keen appreciation of nature. All combined to make Sappho a poetess of the highest rank.

The example of these two Lesbian lyric poets was followed in the second half of the sixth century by many other writers. They included three poetesses, the Boeotians Corinna and Myrtis, and the Dorian Erinna from Argos; as well as Anacreon, the great Ionian poet from Teos, who first settled at Abdera and later wandered from court to court. Anacreon, who wrote in Ionic dialect, came under many influences—the personal invective of the iambic writers, Mimnermus' hedonism, and the lyrical, metrical, and musical forms employed by the melic poets of Lesbos. The content of his poems is slight: they are mostly devoted to wine and free love, without either political passion or philosophical interests. For centuries to come they were admired and imitated, but they mark the exhaustion and consequent decline of Greek melic poetry as an important art form. After Anacreon came the great rise of different genres, the choral lyrics and the poetry of drama.

Choral Lyric in the Peloponnese, Italy, and Ionia. Alcman was a native of Sparta, of respectable family. He composed songs (the ancient world possessed six books of them) in which the Parthenoi or maidens played a great part, and which were sung by choirs of girls taking part at the festivals called Gymnopaedia, assisted by young athletes and by dancers of both sexes. They begin with mythical narrative, and follow it with a passage about real events. Alcman's fancy was calm and joyful: his poetry is supple and animated, while at the same time concise with rapid transitions. He also composed hymns, paeans, banqueting songs, hyporchemes (choral songs to Apollo), love songs, and marriage celebrations: he used a variety of metres, including some very complicated systems of rhythm. Tradition puts his *floruit* variously at about 672, 657, and 612 BC, but various considerations suggest that he was still active after 600.¹⁰

The story was that Arion of Methymna was one of Alcman's pupils, and that he migrated to Corinth to the court of Periander (627–585 BC?), thence proceeding on to Sparta, where he won contests at the Carnean festival. But the whole account of Arion's life is a tissue of legends. He is supposed to have given literary status to an ancient kind of choral song, called dithyramb, and to have made it a regular artistic form: this was a song full of swift and emotional movement, dedicated in early days to a number of divinities, to Adrastus for example at Sicyon, but soon (as we can already see in fragments of Archilochus) to Dionysus. No genuine fragments of Arion's dithyrambs have come down to us, and it is not clear what a famous statement,

traceable back to Solon, is precisely attributing to him. It may actually mean the dithyrambs from which scholars used to believe that tragedy was derived; or it may imply that he invented 'tragic choruses' (the phrase meaning either songs of worshippers disguised as goats, or alternatively songs by boys who have reached the age of puberty), choruses which are themselves connected by some scholars with the origins of tragedy.

Perhaps half a century after Arion, Lasus of Hermione, the teacher of Pindar and Simonides, developed the dithyramb further and gave it its permanent form, namely a chorus accompanied by complicated orchestration played by the flute. He is said to have composed a dithyramb called *The Centaurs*, in which there was a curious avoidance of the letter sigma on the ground that its pronunciation was too harsh.

Choral poetry also made its mark in the Italiote colonies, which in our period produced the man we call Stesichorus I and also Ibycus. Learned tradition made two poets of the same name Stesichorus into one: the first came from Matalos in Magna Graecia and lived at the time of the battle of Sagra and the eclipse of 557 BC; the second was a native of Himera in Sicily and was still alive after 485-484. It is not too late to undo this confusion.¹¹ The earlier writer, called Tisias, was a singer of 'citharodic' choruses, and gained his name Stesichorus thereby. Simonides compared him with Homer, and it is to him that the 'Stesichorean' invention of the strophic triad is ascribed. He was undoubtedly the author of the ode attacking Helen and also the 'palinodia', which relates to the battle of Sagra. Probably he was also the author of a paean, a hymn to Athena, an epithalamium for Helen, some love songs, and the story of the chaste maiden Calica and of Rhadine, victim of a Corinthian tyrant (possibly Cypselus).

Ibycus of Rhegium, according to ancient accounts, flourished about 568 or 548 BC, and was entertained by Polycrates of Samos. Seven books of his poems existed in Hellenistic times, but only a few fragments have survived. Yet we can see in them the fineness and calm serenity of his genius, with the inspiration he drew from Alcman, Sappho, and Stesichorus I. The types of poem displayed are hymns sung by choirs of youths, in praise of the beauty of particular men or to depict the love stories of the gods.

Choral lyric in Ionic, at the point of transition between our period and that which follows, is chiefly represented by Simonides of Ceos, who passed his life travelling from city to city, from one contest to another. He was entertained by Hipparchus at Athens down to 514, then in Thessaly by Scopas of Crannon and the Aleuadae at Larissa, then he visited Athens again and passed on to Acragas and finally to Syracuse, where he died about 470. His poems related a large number of myths, and his total output was vast, comprising hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, encomia, celebrations of victories in the national games, dirges following deaths of famous men, hyporchemes or songs for dances, elegies, and epigrams. In the last genre he attained enormous success. He made the writing of poetry his profession, and Pindar said he

lived not for himself but for other men: as such he praised the victories and lamented the suffering of others, with moral principles which were utilitarian rather than unbending, lukewarm religious opinions, considerable adaptability in politics, and little insistence on insight into character. He was not exuberant as an artist; yet his technique was exquisite, his style full of colour and his language carefully chosen, whether he was writing elegies in Ionic, melic poetry in Doric, or his epigrams in a variety of dialects.

The Origins of the Forms of the Greek Theatre. It was long believed that tragedy, satyric drama, and comedy at Athens were all derived from Dionysiac rites, but their origins are now regarded by modern scholars as having been much more complicated and obscure. Tragedy, for example, has been connected in turn with the dramatic ceremonies in the Eleusinian mysteries, with vegetation rites, with the cults of the dead or of heroes, and with festivals for the resurgent spirit of the year.

Tragedy, to be sure, was not born at one moment, but came into being by slow evolution and by combination between a number of pre-existing factors. Various Greek cults of an orgiastic and pathetic type, connected with mysteries of resurrection or the like, lent themselves to the creation of dramatic forms. Archaeological evidence, especially from Sparta, shows that the use of masks to represent gods and heroes was very ancient; archaic too is the custom, derived from early rituals of animal-type divinities, of having men disguised at sacred ceremonies, in the form of lions, goats, bears, stags, horses, and so on. Early Greece also knew of many dances and sacred songs full of rapid movement, such as those performed by the Dactyli, Telchini, Cercopes, Cabeiri, and Corybantes. Finally there were many heroes, whose deeds were regarded in classical times as historical actions performed on earth—indeed the presence of a *didascalus* or teacher was a natural accompaniment of their representation: yet originally these things had been legends about local deities, to imitate whose activities was consequently a ritual matter.

All this must be admitted, and yet it seems clear that the vital step came when an actor-poet tried to represent the deeds and words of a god or hero before a chorus with whom he conducted a dialogue. From that moment tragedy came into being, and would have done so even without the Dionysiac cult at Athens. In fact we are told of ancient dramas outside Athens, and of themes which were not Dionysiac.

Moreover since the dithyramb itself was initially based on a single singer and a chorus, there is no objection to the view that the earliest form of tragedy was precisely the dithyramb, connected with epic so far as subjects are concerned and as regards form with the choral lyric.

But later at Athens, although a large number of subjects were treated, tragedy in its earliest stages came to be associated chiefly with Bacchic celebrations; and this happened all the more when a satyric drama, with its straightforward incantation to Dionysus, was put on at the end of a tragedy.

We may mention some of the early Attic tragedians, down to the first decades of the fifth century, who are all recorded as having taken part in Dionysiac contests at Athens.

The tragedies of Thespis, of the deme of Ikaria, are completely lost, but it seems that, besides a chorus, they contained a prologue and a story, both recited by a masked actor. They were performed in the villages of Attica by the poet himself, who carried his equipment with him on a cart; but eventually he established himself in Athens, and there at the wish of Peisistratus tragic contests were now initiated during the festivals of Dionysus. The next name is that of Choerilus, an Athenian famous for his satirical tone, of whom 160 plays and 16 victories were recorded, the first in 524–520 though he was still competing in 484–480 BC. Then Pratinas of Phlius, who is said to have brought the satyric drama to Athens, is credited with 50 plays including 32 of satyric type (we possess a hyporcheme which he wrote); he is known to have competed in 499–496 and to have died before 467, in which year his *Combatants* was performed as a posthumous work. At the appropriate time we shall continue the list with Phrynichus, Thespis' pupil. A recently discovered papyrus records a fragment from a pre-Aeschylean tragedy about Gyges.

Satyric drama was something intermediate between tragedy and comedy, a 'tragedy with a happy ending', well suited to Dionysiac cult and probably derived from the Bacchic dithyramb. A principal part was played by satyrs in costume, who danced the 'sikinnis' and were led by old Silenus. When the sequence of three tragedies became the standard form in Athenian contests at the festivals of Dionysus, we can well understand why it was arranged that the trilogy on sad and violent themes should be followed by a satyric play which constituted a joyful, Bacchic, drama of its own. It contained rapid dialogue, crude and even obscene language, and a grotesque plot, with characters who were bizarre, unexpected, and fantastic.

Jests and jibes and satire were surely as old as the Greek people itself. Iambic poetry was based on them, and after that came comedy, a genre for which undoubtedly many precedents prepared the way. There had been processions accompanied by wild songs in honour of Phales and other divinities of fertility. There had also been caricatures of deformed or grotesque individuals; and above all, as the name comedy implies, there had been *komoi* by people in masks, who toured the villages and pilloried the first person they met, putting about gossip and scandal. Every time one of these charades turned into dialogue form around a plot, a comedy may be said to have been composed. This is precisely why comedy became a literary form in several districts at the same time. At Sparta clowns called Dikelistai played funny scenes in which the performers were deformed or ridiculous. At Sicyon the masked Phallophoroi would first sing in chorus and perform queer actions and would then put on a scene; and something similar took place at the festivals of Damia and Auxesia at Aegina. At Megara, where there was an

attempt to connect the word 'comedy' with the word *komai* (villages), implying that comedies were country farces, Maison and Susarion after the establishment of the democracy gave satyric performances a political tone; and this subsequently, in 581 or 562 BC, became the fashion in Athens. Another Athenian poet was Myllos, who though deaf knew every kind of swear-word. The Italiote colonies too were fond of coarse, obscene farces called *phlyaces*, *lisodiai*, and *magodiai*; and they were paralleled among the Siceliotes, where Epicharmus had more than one precursor.

For prophecy, in both its political and religious aspects, see pp. 234 ff.

Prose: History and Geography. We are concerned once again with the earliest Greek writings on philosophy and science. It has already been explained how one of the objectives of epic writing of genealogical or didactic type was to satisfy the growing Greek desire for historical and geographical knowledge. They wanted to learn the story of peoples, cities, and heroes of ancient days, and the more or less marvellous characteristics of distant lands and nations.

Once this need for history and geography had been felt, it continued to grow. Men wanted to know not only legendary deeds of early days, but more likely facts about very recent periods; and they were concerned to tell posterity about the doings of their own times. At this point they directed their attention beyond the purely marvellous on to concrete evidence about the features of countries, and about the customs, characters, and racial composition of foreign nations. These new kinds of narrative were no longer written in verse, but in prose. With the decline in illiteracy there was now a relatively large number of possible readers, as distinct from hearers, and it was no longer necessary to write in verse in order to attract attention and assist the audience's memory. The desire for knowledge became more important than the need to please. It was the Ionians who, on their repeated commercial and colonial voyages, had most frequent occasion to see different lands and learn about different nations and political institutions; and it was therefore in Ionia that historical and geographical writing was born.

At the same time there was a growing desire to make public documents generally known—such texts as laws, treaties, pedigrees, annalistic lists of magistrates, commemorative and autobiographical records, or the observations of the priests. This led to an increase in the number of inscriptions; and historians, who paid some degree of attention to such material, were able to widen their range of evidence.

The newly established science of geography has its earliest document (see p. 142) in the middle of the sixth century BC, when Anaximander of Miletus used information brought by sailors to describe the form of the earth with an accompanying plan.

The earliest historians (*logographoi*, or *orographoi* as they were later called) gathered their information partly from written and partly from oral sources, sometimes adding evidence which had come to them through personal ac-

quaintance with the relevant facts and places. The written sources included epic and genealogical poetry, lists of priests and magistrates, and public inscriptions. Different authors pieced all this evidence together with innumerable rival hypotheses, of varying degrees of logical consistency; some were ingenious deductions from real or supposed affinities between the place-names, customs, or cults of different regions, others were based on rationalization of myths and an attempt to translate them into human terms.

The most famous and perhaps the earliest of these logographers was Hecataeus of Miletus, who lived at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries. He was a personage of importance in his city in 499, and was alive at least as late as 479. His historical work (later divided into four books) was called *Genealogies*, partly because it propounded a chronological scheme based on generations of forty years. It contained propositions of a methodical nature, such as 'I write these things in the way that seems to me true, since the stories of the Hellenes, so it appears to me, are many and absurd'. This important statement reveals the beginnings of historical criticism, even though in fact Hecataeus' reconstruction of Greek origins remained in so many places very far from the truth. In another work, the *Ges Periodos*, Hecataeus made good use of the direct knowledge of certain countries which he had acquired during his life. Naturally his book is better informed about coastal than about inland areas, and about countries adjacent to Greek colonies rather than those outside the orbit of Greek culture.

If we could believe tradition, Cadmus of Miletus, an Ionian like Hecataeus, would figure as an even earlier writer. But the story of his life has a mythical appearance (he is called the son of the Athenian king Pandion), and the work on the origins of Miletus which is attributed to him was already believed by some ancients to be a forgery.

We have already mentioned the genuine work on exploration by Scylax of Caryanda, written in the time of Darius. The same author is credited with an historical monograph on Heracleides, lord of Mylasa.

i. *Etruscan and primitive Roman literature*

Writing came early to Etruria, as is shown by the model Greek alphabets and by the oldest native inscriptions, the latter dating from the beginning of the seventh century. More than 10,000 inscriptions in all have come down to us, suggesting that a people so fond of writing is likely to have been well to the fore in producing a literature. We know particularly of the large output on cult and religion, and on other matters in the didactic or liturgical genre (see above p. 242), because it aroused the interest of the Romans. But there is no doubt that other literary forms came early to Etruria. Epic poems are suggested by paintings from Vulci about the deeds of the brothers Vibenna and of Mastarna, and by monuments at Bologna (for example) depicting episodes in the fighting between Etruscans and Celts. They are

confirmed by the evidence of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 21) about the national songs of Falerii and the songs of Veii on Aleso.

There must have been other stories and poems about the myths of hybrid Etruscan and Greek origin which we find represented on monuments. Besides this, Varro quotes from 'historiae Tuscae', which Cato used for his *Origines* and the emperor Claudius for his *Tyrrhenica*; and we are told of Etruscan works, of uncertain date, about hydraulics and medicine. The actual Latin words *histrion* and *lanista*, *scaena* and *persona*, being derived directly or indirectly (through Greek) from Etruscan, show that Rome got not a few of its concepts about the theatre from Etruria. The same is true about games, which Roman tradition likewise maintained were imported to the city from Etruria, giving the date 364 B.C.

Rome too must have produced a popular epic at an early date, nor is this surprising in view of the epic happenings in its history. Cicero (Brutus, 19, 75) complains of the loss of these ancient poems about illustrious individuals which were in existence many centuries before Cato. The loss can be explained by the fact that from the third century onwards the earliest artistic poems (those of Naevius and Ennius), and the earliest annalists, took over everything they contained and provided an adequate replacement.

Nevertheless these verses, of which the poetical content is still the basis of the earlier narrative of Livy, had provided material for the pontiffs in the fourth century B.C. At that time they were issuing their first edition of the *Annales Maximi* and reconstructing their annual tables, which had been compiled since the beginning of the Republic but had been burnt in the Gallic capture of Rome. They appended a brief summary of the history of the Regal period, and to compose it they collected not only the evidence of oral tradition or that still available from their own tables, but also the evidence of official documents, which at Rome were drawn up at least as early as the seventh century.

Nor is there doubt that documents were written in Rome and Latium as early as this date: it is proved by surviving texts, and also by the existence in antiquity of a large number of others now lost. They included regal laws, treaties, religious ordinances, formularies, pontifical responses and decrees, lists of magistrates and priests, catalogues of prodigies, and calendars with rules about intercalation. One such document, of immense historical value, is the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, preserved by Polybius, and probably first put into writing at a time when the Etruscans were still ruling Rome.

2. ART

a. China

Chou art continues that of the preceding Shang period, but there are very marked differences, amounting to a halt, or even in some fields a setback, to the progress made hitherto. It was in fact a reflection of the essential

characteristics of the rough Chou conquerors, who came from the same stock as the Shang people they subdued, but who belonged to the fringe of Sinic civilization and were therefore culturally backward in comparison with the relatively advanced Shang.

Free-standing sculpture disappears for practically a thousand years. The artistic work which has come down to us is therefore mostly confined to bronzes, although marble and jade objects are not wanting. The great Shang tradition continued to govern the art forms used for sacred bronze vessels, the style being first that which is normally called 'transitional Yin-Chou' (c. 1030-950), and then the Middle Chou (c. 950-650). (Pl. 3.) Ritual vases, most notably those discovered in the tombs of Chou princes at Hsün-hsien, are still made in the classical forms characteristic of the best bronze age, the most widespread type being the tripod (*ting*). But more typical of this period are the *tsun* (with a bell-shaped base, wide middle section, and a long neck like a chalice), and the *kuei* (a deep urn with round or square foot and handles which are generally in the shape of animals). In the Middle Chou period we find the *i*, a kind of sauce-boat representing a bull: the lip is often like a bull's head, there are four feet of bovine type, and the handle is carved like an animal of prey gripping the bull's back. Decoration declines in elegance and becomes more simple and severe, although it retains a restraint of great power and an energy which is almost brutal. In particular the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask, so dominant in the Shang period, first dwindled in size and underwent alterations then became less common, and finally disappeared altogether. Instead we find motifs of a heavy and rigid geometric type. Even the technique altered, as alt-relief disappeared and gave place to a simple form of flat relief. The general impression is one of static and ponderous rigidity, combined with a drying-up of artistic imagination. From the middle of the seventh century, and even more clearly in the middle of the sixth, a change set in with the rise of the Huai style, with which we deal later.

Side by side with the art of Chinese bronzes proper, which means those connected with the Chou dynasty and the fiefs in the Huang-ho basin there existed a southern style in the kingdom of Ch'u, very like the Chou style but showing features of even more marked simplicity.

Chinese pottery of the Chou period excelled in the manufacture of high-fire vitrified wares. But alongside them there was in common use a grey ware of coarser make and less skilled workmanship, which continued in use for most of the first millennium BC.

b. Northern Asia

In the great metal working basin of Minusinsk on the upper Yenisei the civilization of Karasuk was at its zenith between 1200 and 700. Its bronzes are clearly influenced by those of Anyang, but there is a marked time-lag; the influence was certainly not in the opposite direction, as was believed until the fundamental work of Kiselev. The essential characteristic is representation

of animals; and the bronze knives and other weapons, as well as the carved stonework, reveal a style which is still rough and ponderous, though it foreshadows the magnificent Steppe art of the succeeding period.

Karasuk was followed by the Tagar culture (700–100), which was still centred in the Minusinsk basin and may be attributed to Hsiung-nu clans. There are bronzes from its earliest period (700–400) which show the heavy Karasuk style giving place to quick, light movement of a dynamic and elastic type. In its splendid naturalistic renderings of animals—tigers, lynxes, bears, wild boars, stags, and so on—there is already a trend toward stylization, in which heraldic features predominate. It is an extraordinarily rich form of art, and in the ensuing period we shall find its influence extending from China to the Ukraine.

c. *India*

In this period there is a large gap in our knowledge about Indian art. A thousand years' of almost complete darkness exists between the end of the urban and commercial civilization of Harappā and the earliest stages of the court art of the Mauryas. The Aryans destroyed the art that went before them, without being capable, for a very long time, of replacing it with something new. We learn little or nothing from written evidence; at the best we can derive some interest from the rules laid down for constructing a sacrificial altar in the *Śulvasūtras*, writings which belong to the next period but reflect post-Vedic theory. In any case the relics of any art from this period are exceedingly few. Architecture was in wood or bamboo, and no building has survived. Nevertheless we know that in this period architectonic forms were evolved for wooden material and subsequently imitated (or even copied) in stone; examples are the monastic room (*caitya*) and the doorway of a sacred enclosure (*torana*). At the same date there was evolved the theoretical lay-out of an Indian village as it is described in later treatises—a rectangle intersected by two cross-roads leading to four gates.

About the end of this period stone began to appear as a building material, and in particular, for obvious reasons, replaced wood in the construction of city walls. The one example which still exists in part is to be found in the remains of the walls of Rājagṛha, attributable to the sixth century. Of funerary architecture the main instances are the enormous burial mounds of Lauriya Nandangarh, which are prototypes of the *stūpa* of the succeeding period. In the south, at Mennapuram and Calicut, tombs have been found cut in the rock, in a manner possible only before inhumation was completely replaced by cremation. They take the form of roofed rooms with a monolithic stone in the centre: in other words, they are stone reproductions of the Vedic but normally made of wood or matting. Another similar structure, interpreted by some as a fire-temple, has been found at Bangala Motta Paramba.

Indian pottery of this period is interesting from the archaeological point of view only; as a rule, it is strictly utilitarian and of little artistic merit.

The most representative ceramic is the Painted Grey ware (eighth–fifth centuries BC), occurring mainly in northern India.¹² It is made of fine clay, wheel-turned, rather thin, well fired and with a grey or greyish-brown surface. The painted ornament is usually black and consists of linear and dotted patterns, spirals, concentric circles, etc. (Fig. 1.)

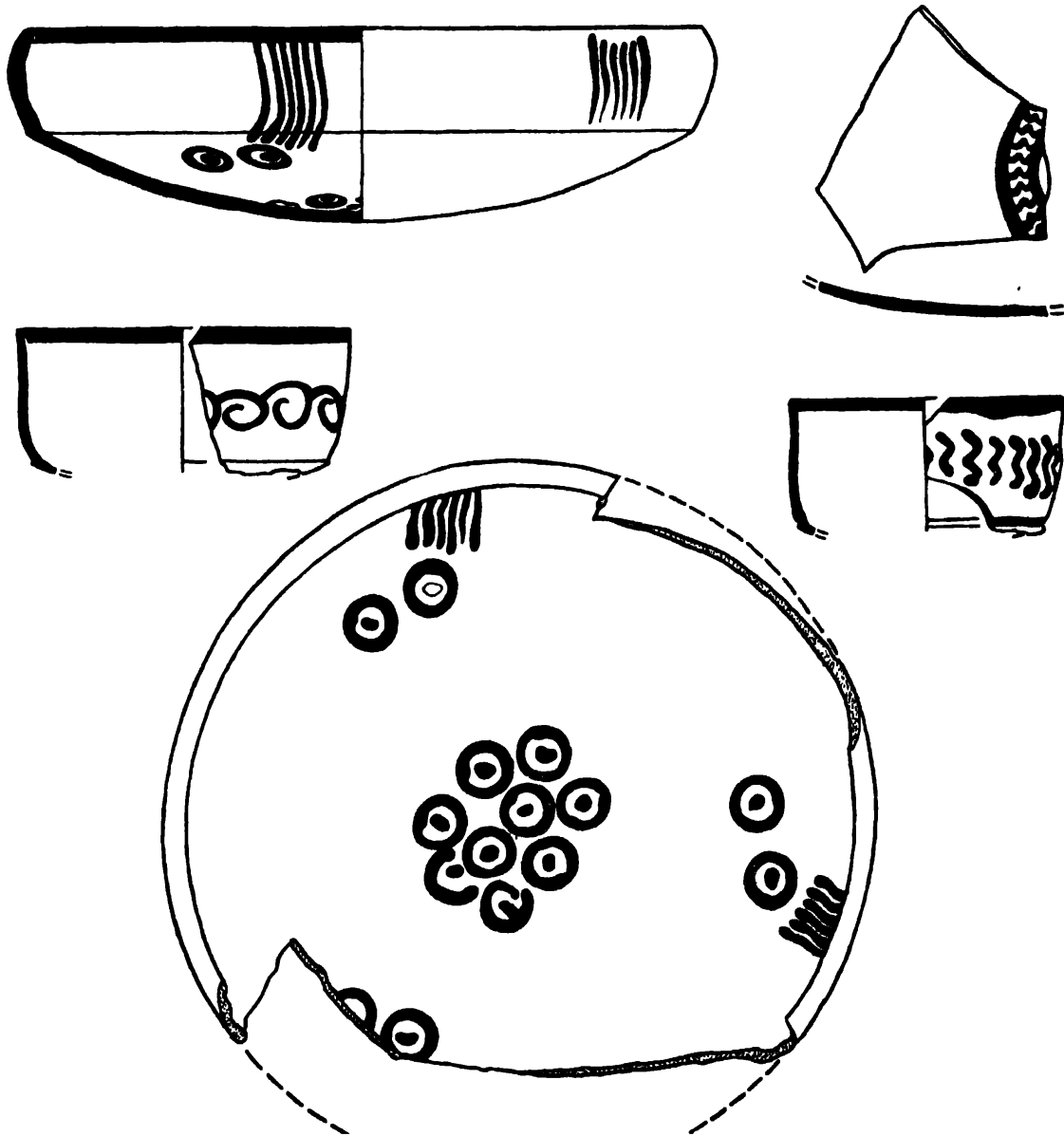


FIG. 1. Painted Grey ware from Ahicchatrā (after M. Wheeler).

Some sculpture survives, but it is hardly representative of the period as a whole. The best-known piece is a gold figurine in relief, found in one of the Lauriya Nandangarh tombs, which its discoverer interpreted as depicting a Vedic goddess (Pṛthivī, the Earth): more probably it represents the common type of Magna Mater which we find so often in practically all parts of Asia.

In style it seems to mark a transition between the plastic art of Harappā and the Mauryas. Various sorts of terracottas, especially of the *Magna Mater*, have been uncovered in a number of places. Some of them, found at Mathura, come from the same school as the Lauriya Nandangarh figurine.

d. *Egypt*

Throughout the history of Egypt we can find a logical relationship between the periods of greatest political and economic prosperity and those in which artistic work was richest and most perfect. This explains why the period beginning with the Twentieth Dynasty is exceptionally one from which little has survived. Public buildings of that period must have been very few: the walls enclosing the temple of Sais, with their monumental granite doorways, provide a single example; and in the Persian period at the end of our chapter we are told that Darius I erected a temple in the oasis of El Hibeh. As to royal tombs, the 'Saite zone in the western delta has preserved no record, but a few modest examples have been found in the eastern zones of Tanis and Bubastis, belonging to sovereigns of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties. Prominent among the latter is the tomb of Psusennes II, which has a triple sarcophagus in silver, black granite, and red granite, and a remarkable display of gold set in masks and necklaces.

In Upper Egypt on the other hand, in the district of Abydos and Thebes, a number of private tombs have been found cut in the mountains, with a funeral hall and a pit below. Those are the type known generally as 'syringa' tombs.

In sculpture a piece worthy of note is the massive statue of the dynast Taharqua (c.660), with a round head which acquires even greater relief from the hemispherical helmet surrounding it. The attempt made by the Twenty-sixth or Saite Dynasty (663-525) to achieve a revival both at home and abroad is reflected in all the statuary of the period. At that time Egyptian rulers took as their great models the Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom, especially the Memphis rulers of the Third Dynasty; and the artists who depicted them were therefore attempting to imitate the idealism, stiffness, and schematism which left their mark on the statuary of those early days, with their smooth rounded faces, extended eyebrows, and stereotyped smile. Sometimes it is difficult to date a particular statue to one of these periods rather than the other.

Statues of priests on the other hand, which were not executed on these archaizing principles, show a remarkable power of portraiture. One may mention a famous head in green now in the Berlin Museum, which is expressive and realistic in the highest degree, for example in the characteristic fleshy treatment of the ears. It was during the Saite period that Greek traders from Naucratis, and after them Greek mercenaries, were able to acquaint their fellow-countrymen with the main features of Egyptian statuary, which

Sarcophagus, sixth century BC, from Caere. Museum of the Villa Giuglia, Rome





[Alinari]

20 Etruscan style terra-cotta head of Jupiter, from the temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum, Latium (now Conca), early fifth century BC. Height 0.25 m. (Rome, Museum of the Villa Giulia)

therefore, as we shall see (p. 299), came to exercise an important influence on Greek sculpture. (Pl. 4.)

c. *Assyria*

In art as in all other forms of culture Assyria was traditionalist and conservative. With few innovations or even logical developments, the Assyrians retained and perpetuated methods which had been the rule for thousands of years in Mesopotamia, even in fields where Assyrian environment was different. For example, although Assyria was relatively well provided with solid building materials in both stone and timber, they still employed the Babylonian form of construction in clay bricks, generally sun-baked and bound together with bitumen, reeds, and straw: only for foundations or in exceptional cases did they use stone or bricks baked in the oven. This compelled them to construct buildings resembling mountains of earth, with high blank walls. There was practically no opening to let in light; the rooms were small and dark; very occasionally there would be a false cupola at the top, but generally the roof would be made of short timber and would provide a terrace. Arches were used only for certain doorways; moreover though the column was known to the Assyrians, they used it simply as a decorative element, and not to give support. The great royal palaces, and buildings of a public and religious nature, were constructed on high plateau land to give protection from floods; but the military character of Assyrian life made each one of these buildings into a fortress, with turreted outer walls, few gates giving access to the outside, and battlements on the roofs. Practically every king constructed a royal palace with a temple attached: the most famous (with ruins surviving) are Ashur-nazirpal II's at Nimrod, Sargon II's palace at Dur-Sharrukin (the modern Khorsabad), and Ashur-banipal's at Nineveh. The second of these was built on an artificial terrace, 50 feet in average height and about 25 acres in area. The interior was divided into a number of separate courts, and comprised about 200 very narrow rooms; these were set in three main groups, one the seraglio, the second the rooms adjoining it, and the third a collection of six shrines, while at the side was the temple with its *ziggurat* and gardens with aqueducts to water them. The outer walls of the palace had uniform surfaces, the monotony of which was broken by buttresses, towers, and decorated sections, but by practically no windows at all; the rooms were cool, as the country's climate demands, but they were fairly dark, obtaining their light only through doors and small openings on to the courts. The temples too were surrounded by walls and possessed a number of rooms for lodging, offices, stores, and treasures, besides those devoted to cult purposes. The famous towers with between four and seven storeys of gradually decreasing size set one upon another, which were grouped round a massive central platform (*ziggurat*), ended, so Herodotus tells us, in a sanctuary: this therefore came to be a 'High Place' of an artificial nature, and was also useful as an astronomical observatory.

The figurative arts in Assyria have one tendency in common. They normally present human figures in a decorative manner, symbolist and abstract. These figures are stiff and rigid, lacking any expression of sentiment and emotion, showing a passion for symmetry and characteristic devices of stylization: for instance the eyes, beard, and upper part of the bust face forward, even when the rest of the figure is in profile (Pl. 6). Extreme care is taken over drapery, stylized curls in the beard, and women's hair. Women and nudes are depicted only rarely, and landscape backgrounds are of a uniform type. On the other hand realism of the starkest kind is almost absolute when they come to depict any kind of animal, real or imaginary—winged bulls (Pl. 5, a), lions with crinkled hair, dogs, horses, antelopes, wild asses, boars, birds, or fishes. A curious feature in their technique lay in giving quadrupeds a fifth leg, so that one can always see four whether the animal is full face or foreshortened.

Everything said so far applies not only to regular free-standing sculpture (like the marvellous statue of Ashur-banipal found at Nimrod and now in the British Museum), but even more to the countless scenes depicted in relief. These are sometimes mythical, like that of Gilgamesh strangling a lion, or the winged bulls with human heads: or they can be scenes of human life, hunting, battles, massacres, processions of prisoners, sacrifices, or banquets of kings and queens in their gardens. These scenes, mainly bas-reliefs cut on some soft stone such as chalk or alabaster, or possibly enamels, cover enormous surfaces on the smooth walls of buildings; for instance in the palace of Khorsabad they take up nearly 60,000 square feet, often in a series of pictures devoted to events succeeding one another in time. But such reliefs are also to be found on *stelae* and obelisks, for instance the black obelisk of Shalmaneser III, and also on bronze tablets, such as those used to decorate doors. A characteristic piece of naïveté is used to deal with perspective: scenes designed to show more than one plane have files of figures of equal proportions, one above the other, with a dividing line between them. (Pl. 5, b).

Instead of using reliefs the Assyrians sometimes covered their mural surfaces with gesso and painted them with ornamental designs or with scenes of men and animals. Besides white and black they employed red, blue, green, and yellow.

Among lesser arts the carving of seals and amulets deserves special mention. The finer ones were made of precious stones, such as lapis lazuli, cornelian, serpentine, and hematite; but there were cheaper articles of varying shape (flat, conical, hemispherical, but above all cylindrical), which contained symmetrical scenes, often of mythological topics.

f. *Persia*

Persian art was in essence a court art, ceremonial in character and designed to render the King of Kings the homage that was due to him. It found outlet

particularly in architectural constructions and the decoration of their walls. The Persian religion did not need great temples: it was content with altars, as is shown (for example) by the finds at Naqsh-i-Rustem. It was a manifestation of the dynasty, and owed its origin largely to the greatest architect of the Achaemenid empire, Darius I. Precisely for this reason it is a composite art, drawing inspiration from various sources: materials and artists were drawn from every part of the empire, and each artist worked along his own traditional lines, though he was assisted by sound and original guidance derived from the taste of his patron.

The great inscription on the palace at Susa describes the way in which the palace itself was built, and provides interesting details. 'The Babylonians worked at excavating the site, covering it with gravel, and manufacturing the bricks; the cedarwood was brought from a mountain called Libanus . . . the oakwood from Gandhāra and Carmania. From Sardis and Bactria came the gold, which was then worked on the site; from Sogdiana came the stone (lapis lazuli and serpentine) also worked here, as was the hematite from Khorasmia; the silver and copper came from Egypt. The decoration on the wall is from Ionia; the ivory from Ethiopia, India, and Arachosia. The stone for the columns, which were made on the spot, came from Aphrodisia in Lydia, and the chisels to cut it were Ionian and Sardian. The workmen for the platform were Median and Egyptian; the cutters of precious stones were Sardian and Egyptian; the brickmakers were Ionian and Babylonian; the builders of the walls were Median and Egyptian.'

In Persia the great palaces of Pasargadae and Persepolis (Pl. 7, a) (1,650 × 1,000 ft), and in Mesopotamia the palace of Susa, all built with great care despite the enormous complexity of their planning, show features derived (with appropriate modifications) from the different cultural areas which had become parts of this vast empire. Assyrian influence, for example, is visible in various ways. There is the great raised foundation structure, artificial in whole or in part, the object of which was to exalt the level of the palace rather than to protect it from floods; there are the battlements on the buildings and at Susa the smooth facing of bricks; and the outer walls and staircases are covered with tablets carved in bas-relief, often accompanied by historical inscriptions and containing several subjects which also betoken Assyrian origin. Nevertheless the reliefs do not normally, as they did among the Assyrians, depict war scenes; and in later times they are enlivened by colouring, and by precious stones and gold.

Yet unlike the Assyrian palaces, but in imitation and improvement of those in Egypt and of the earliest Greek temples, the main portion of the Persian palace was composed of the great throne-room (*apadana*), with a thin ceiling of cedarwood supported by high slender columns. These were set at some distance from one another, and were sometimes smooth, sometimes fluted; they were often bell-shaped at the base with leaf ornament, and at the top, where they held up the architrave, they had a characteristic type of capital

with a couple of heads of bulls or horses. In the slender columns we can see the Ionian Greek influence, which is also found in the way the bas-reliefs are modelled, and in the very careful drapery of the figures (which are always male).

The royal tombs in the days of Cyrus the Great (Pl. 7, b) were still modelled on whatever type of mausoleum was favoured by the region in question. But from Darius' time they were simplified, and were based on the underground tombs of Egypt.

Apart from decorated court architecture we can say little about Persian art, because discoveries have been so few. Of their sculpture we can only instance a single silver statuette, a bronze lion, and a gold chest with figured decoration. As to carving, a seal of Darius I, comparable with Assyrian and Anatolian art, is worthy of note, as is also the coining of the earliest gold 'darics', which carry a figure on one side only, that of the king in armour. In these coins we can see the influence of Lydia and Greece, which can also be discerned in the legend 'basileus' appearing on some later issues by the satraps.

g. Phoenician and Carthaginian Art

Phoenician art has very little individuality. The country lay where lines of communication intersected, and its people, though given over to trade (and especially sea-borne trade), were devoid of artistic inspiration. Their art, therefore, is full of elements derived from other countries, chiefly Egypt, Greece, and Assyria/Mesopotamia: yet these elements were haphazard and ill organized, for they were not given new life in any manner that was original, despite the medley of styles and techniques. The same lack of firm character is evident in the products they exported. Sometimes they simply collected objects of art from various countries in the course of their voyages, and then proceeded to re-sell them indiscriminately (the hybrid features of the Orientalizing period of Greek art owed much to this practice); or alternatively they would export cheap imitations from their own factories, reproducing other peoples' work in completely haphazard fashion. Some clay models of their palaces and temples survive: they were relatively small in size, and show Mesopotamian influence, although the Phoenicians made greater use of stone; when we reach the period of the Ugarit models, showing an open space with an altar, and behind it corridors and a *cella*, we can see the influence of Mycenaean Greece as well. In sculpture Egyptian inspiration is evident in the characteristic stone sarcophagi with half-human figures found at Sidon, and in the thirteenth-century tomb of King Ahiram at Byblos: the form of the clothing, and the sphinxes at the sides, point the same way. The numerous small objects which are a special feature of archaeological finds in Syria, and which therefore show the commercial importance of the country from an early date, are a further proof of the hybrid character of Phoenician art. Either they are straightforward foreign products, such as

Assyrian seals, Egyptian scarabs, or Mycenaean ivories, or they are cheap local imitations. The bronzes and glass-work are worthy of some attention.

The artistic habits of the Phoenicians did not change in their western colonies, which later became united under the leadership of Carthage. Indeed when these Punic colonies were cut off from their mother country they too came under foreign and especially Greek influence: most specifically was this true of the influence exerted by the Ionian Greeks who in the seventh and sixth centuries established themselves on the actual Punic coasts at Kybos and near by, and also by the Phocaeans and Massiliote settlements clustered along the shore from eastern Spain to the Gulf of Lions. Another powerful force came from the Etruscans, who for a long time held joint maritime supremacy with the Carthaginians, and who themselves were highly Hellenized.

The root and branch destruction of Carthage by Rome has almost wholly deprived us of evidence about their monuments and large-size statues. Yet the material from their burial sites still shows how Greek stylistic methods were continually adapted to Punic tastes and ideas. Clearly therefore the Greek artists of North Africa, who succeeded in adapting their styles and models to these very different Punic tastes, must have been men of fundamental importance in artistic history. A typical feature is the horizontal position of human figures on tombs, which are looked at as if they were vertical statues. (Pl. 8.)

h. Greek Art

The end of Mycenaean types and the Transition to Geometric. Mycenaean art had arisen in court circles, the product of non-Greek Minoan ideas and forms uniting with Hellenic tastes and techniques. It began to alter with the Greek conquest of the islands and eastern coast of the Aegean when the natives lost their liberty, and consequently the fruitful cultural collaboration between Greeks and pre-Greeks slackened or disappeared. At the same time the sharp decline of the Egyptian empire under the Twenty-first Dynasty, and of the Hittite empire in the last centuries of the second millennium, coupled with the repeated set-backs to the Assyrian empire between the twelfth and tenth centuries, all reduced trade between the vast ancient countries of the East and the Aegean world; and the spasmodic or even non-existent relations of this period were reflected in the cultural and artistic spheres. There was also a consequent decline in the economic prosperity of potential buyers in Greece and the Aegean: so the standard of production went down, in respect both of artistic quality and of the fineness and value of the materials employed. This process was intensified by the fact that the largest exports were now directed at countries where culture had as yet made little progress, the areas where Hellenic colonization was soon to develop.

In any case it was natural that Mycenaean art should exhaust itself after centuries of growth and that an innovating movement should make itself

felt amid the sterility of Mycenaean methods and rules. In some fields too a movement of this kind was promoted by the complete revolution in metal-working which resulted from the availability of large supplies of iron. But the decisive reason for the decline of Mycenaean art, this courtly product, was the fall of most Greek monarchies, one after the other; in the ensuing period the vast riches which had belonged to these rulers and which had been needed to adorn their houses and tombs with art treasures were no longer concentrated in a few hands. The houses of the nobles who took the kings' places, but who were engaged in continual struggles among themselves with consequent expenditure of money, were in no position to give permanent employment to numerous crowds of specialized artists. The next age was one of political turmoil and social conflict; the population was increasing and large fortunes were therefore being split up; there was a bitter struggle for existence and men rendered landless were undertaking those commercial enterprises which prepared the way for and later accompanied the new great emigration of colonists. In this Iron Age, which looked back with longing to the ancient 'Age of Gold', the man who could operate with profit and security was no longer the delicate artist making expensive articles, but the artisan. For by now only the few could seek out *chefs d'œuvres* made from fine materials: what was needed everywhere was a large quantity of modest industrial goods, both for use at home and also for export to distant countries, where they were exchanged for base metals and foodstuffs offered by the native inhabitants.

So gradually men turned to a 'geometric' style. This was a style much favoured on account of its simplicity and spontaneity by the reformers of the day, and it was one to which the increasingly emphatic stylization of Minoan-Mycenaean products was already tending. Something like it had in any case always existed in the western and northern parts of the Greek world, where Mycenaean civilization had made little mark, and also in south-eastern districts for the coarse articles used by the poorer classes. It was completely dominant in the Balkans and Italy, the destination first of traders seeking metals, amber, and the like, and later of colonial emigrants. The designs of certain textiles imported from the East were another factor favouring the new style.

The passage from Mycenaean to Geometric was slower in some areas than in others; and it was marked in particular localities by distinguishable phases of transition, which are normally called Sub-Mycenaean. Mycenaean must have been still common in some parts of Greece when the earliest sailors were taking its products as far as the island of Ischia, and even when the first Laconian colonists settled at Tarentum. But a few decades earlier, in the first half of the eighth century, it had been superseded in the homeland of the 'Achaean' colonists of south Italy and the Chalcidian colonists in Sicily.

The Geometric period was for a long while called the 'Greek Middle Ages', as if it had been a cultural decline caused by admixtures with peoples of

different civilization. In fact, however, the adoption of the new style had nothing to do with the ethnic changes brought about by the much earlier Dorian migration: on the contrary it was the Mycenaean style which had been due to admixtures, and this style was now abandoned in order to return to spontaneous methods which came naturally to the indigenous populations. Moreover even if it is legitimate to speak of a decline in the figured arts, this was heavily compensated by the rapid progress made in other departments of human activity, metalworking, navigation, colonization, political organization and ordering of legal codes, religion, customs of life, and morals. Add to this the new methods of alphabetic writing, and literature which included the dazzling Homeric epic and the didactic poetry of Hesiod; nor was the least achievement one to be found in artistic production itself, namely the invention of temple architecture.

Architecture. Temples and Shrines. Too few remains of archaic Greek architecture have been excavated, and many buildings, made in relatively perishable material, have been destroyed. But what little we know of archaic architecture is important, since it reveals a continuous process of evolution from the Mycenaean to the Classical period. The portion of a Mycenaean palace devoted to the gods, and containing shrines, sacred areas, and idols, was small: but this is true only in appearance, because the royal palace itself was the house of a person of divine origin, namely the king, and it was consequently built for the gods whose descendant and high priest he was. So it need cause no surprise if it was often on the ruins of the Mycenaean royal palaces that the archaic temples were built, as houses for the anthropomorphic gods, their high priests being sometimes the ancient kings with their other functions removed; it is natural too that the earliest form of temple was modelled on the megaron, the great festive hall of the Mycenaean palace. Later this was copied in the construction of other temples where no regular palaces had existed. There was, for instance, the so-called 'Temple A of Primias' in Crete, with a cella 31×19 ft, a pronaos with two entrance doors between quadrangular pilasters, and a frieze on the architrave. Mention may be made too of the 'Pythion of Gortyna' and of the lay-out of the temple of 'Artemis Orthia' at Sparta, the latter with two naves like those in some rooms in prehistoric Troy.

But in addition to isolated temples there was a marked growth in the eighth and seventh centuries of a certain form of sanctuary. These with their oracles, festivals, gymnastic games, and contests in poetry and music, became the meeting-place of pilgrims and of athletes, and also of artists, poets, and musicians. They were the homes of culture and the sources of its diffusion. First place among them belongs to the sanctuary of Olympia in the sacred grove of Zeus, the Altis, on the right bank of the Alpheus beneath Mt Cronion, where villages had existed from the end of the Stone Age. Its games are traced back to the eighth century, and there were important edifices erected

here in every period—temples (the Heraeum belongs to the seventh century), public and decorative buildings, altars, scattered votive monuments, and the famous 'thesauroi': the last were small buildings shaped like temples, and each was intended to house the more valuable of the votive offerings which came in from a particular district of Greece.

The oracular responses from the sanctuary of Pytho at Delphi were already famous in the eighth century. This lay beneath the Phaedriad rocks close to the Castalian spring; and its centre was Apollo's temple where stood the *omphalos*, the navel of the world, a sacred stone said to be the tomb of the python which the god had killed. Gradually other temples grew up, with treasuries, commemorative and votive monuments, and decorative buildings of various kinds.

The Earliest Architectural Orders. At the same time the form of temples was growing more elaborate. Originally consisting of a single *cella* or two naves, with or without a porch in front, their rows of columns now became gradually more imposing. These columns were constructed according to one of two architectural systems or 'Orders', originally devised in two different areas, but later to be found more or less indiscriminately in the whole Greek world. One of them, perhaps the more ancient, is generally called Doric, though 'Argolic' would be a better name. It was compact and solemn, with massive proportions, and of the two Orders this one retained more traces of the timber construction which was common in early days. This was especially true of the columns, which grew narrower towards the top and of which the bases fitted directly on to the floor of the temple; they had shallow acute-angled fluting, and their capitals were composed of a curved cushion below a square flagstone which supported the architrave; this last was decorated with reliefs in the metopes and pediments, and was painted in many colours, particularly in the upper portions. (Fig. 2, a.)

The other Order is usually called Ionic, but a better name might be 'Ionico-Aeolic' or 'Asiatic': it shows eastern influence, and tended to divide into a number of sub-species. Its slender column rests on a base, has deep fluting with semi-circular interstices and blunt angles on the outside, and is surmounted by a capital with floral and plant designs. Instead of metopes and triglyphs the architrave has a fillet or frieze sculpted in relief. The building was adorned with many colours and other sculptured portions. (Fig. 2, b.)

Geometric Pictorial Decoration. Geometric art found its outlet mainly in painting (to some extent also in sculpture); and we know enough about its history to be able to determine its general features. For decoration an artist used primarily geometric elements—points, lines, zig-zag, lozenges, or patterns of network, chessboard, herringbone, or maze varieties, all painted with clear black varnish and often arranged to make a complete, elegant, and harmonious whole (Pl. 9, a). But in addition he would fill the portions most easily visible

with figures of animals and human beings, one behind another in stylized manner; and later we find scenes of everyday life and episodes taken from Epic. Such pictures are clearly derived from designs used in the weaving of rugs and embroidery (on canvas), a process about which we have information

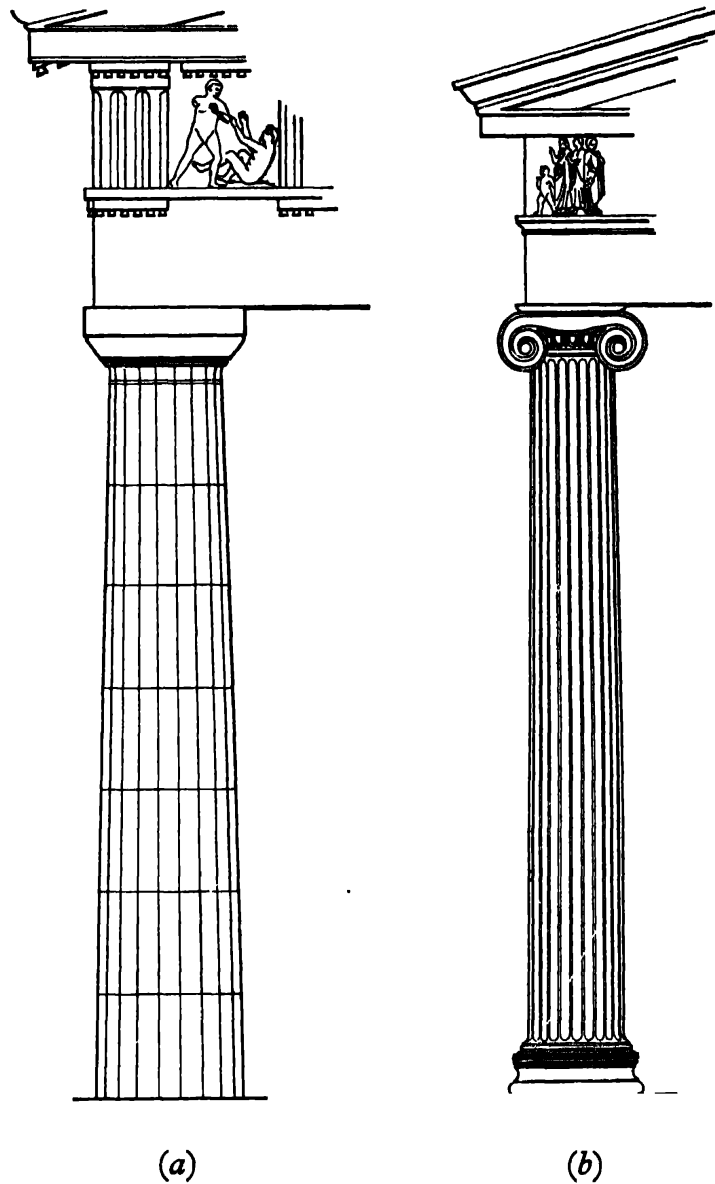


FIG. 2. The classical Orders.
(a) Doric, (b) Ionic.

from the *Iliad* (III, 125 ff.). We can tell this from the stylized and angular shapes of the figures with their flat colours, and from the way they are arranged in horizontal and vertical lines to satisfy a taste which 'abhors a vacuum'. Decorated vases in this style are made in the most diverse shapes and sizes, ranging from very small pots to funeral amphorae over 6 feet high. Sometimes the painting, especially on lids, is accompanied by plastic decoration as well.

Geometric pottery can be classified by local styles, by the degree of stylization in reminiscence of Mycenaean, and by the extent of foreign (and particularly Oriental) influence, this last growing all the time.

The most ancient (tenth century onwards) and also the most spontaneous school was perhaps the Athenian style of pottery known as Dipylon—from the place in which an ancient necropolis was discovered. Its typical products are the colossal amphorae and bowls, of which the most visible portions are painted with scenes of combat and races, with chariot processions and lines of men and women, with ships and naval battles, and so on. All is curiously stylized in the use of shapes and perspective. (Pl. 9, b.)

On later pottery the portion devoted to geometrical designs and to strips decorated with animals is reduced, giving place to scenes of the lives of heroes, drawn from legends in poetry. Meanwhile the painters made the decoration finer and more graceful, and the potters made vases of more elegant and perfect shapes.

From about 800 BC we find the Chalcidic school of pottery, with offshoots in Sicily; in the second half of the eighth century appeared the Corinthian school, whose works can be classified into various periods, starting with 'Proto-Corinthian'; and the seventh century saw the zenith of the Laconico-Cyrenaic, Cretan, and Rhodian Schools. (Pl. 10, a, b.) At the same time there were characteristic styles appearing in the manufactures of other cities, such as those of the Asiatic seaboard and of distant Cyprus, both of which were more deeply imbued with features of foreign origin.¹³

Soon however Athenian factories took the lead. Originally their wares were known over a relatively narrow area, but they gradually made themselves recognized over the whole world which was frequented by Greeks. They were in avid demand and were abundantly exported.

The most beautiful among Attic vases were painted with a variety of techniques in different periods. At first, that is to say in the sixth century and at the beginning of the fifth, their figures were flat black silhouettes (Pls. 11, a, b,; 12, a, b) in which interior design was obtained by lines scratched with a tool: other touches were provided in red and white, the whole being set as a separate element against the red ground of the vase. About 500 BC pots were still being made with this technique, but there were also experiments in a new one. The history of the latter belongs mainly to a later period: in contrast to the earlier style it used a background covered with black colour and left the figures in the red of the clay, interior design consisting of black lines which were added by pencil. In the earlier technique the most famous painters known to us are Ergotimus (aided by the potter Clitias) (Pl. 11, a), Execias, and Nicosthenes. But we possess other monuments of archaic painting besides those on vases: painted metopes have been discovered in the temple of Apollo at Thermos in Aetolia; there are some votive tablets (pinaces) from Athens; and at Clazomenae have been found about seventy sarcophagi, on some of which the Black Figure and Red Figure techniques are combined. Finally

there is the magnificent architectural use of many-coloured pottery on temples, as a covering for the portions built in timber.

Archaic Greek Sculpture. Diodorus (IV, 76) tells us that before Daedalus all human figures in regular sculpture were represented with half-closed eyes and with arms clinging to the body; but that this great artist discovered how to sculpt figures in which the eyes could seem to look at something, the legs could seem to walk, and the arms could stretch. These two kinds of statuary are in fact identifiable. The earliest examples of pre-Daedalic sculpture belong to the eighth century, and mainly suggest models drawn from trunks or branches of trees; certain ivory statuettes of a nude goddess found at Athens provide an instance, and there are other examples in Crete and Sicily. The Boeotian pottery figurines, with their wide bell-shaped dress, covered with geometric and animal designs, are very comparable.

A second phase, which still finds expression in cylindrical or flattened statuary made of wood from tree-trunks or planks, makes an effort to show movement, and is marked by care in the representation of drapery. (Pl. 13, a.) Examples are the seventh-century statue dedicated by Nicander at Delos and that offered to Hera by Cheramydes at Samos. (Pl. 13, b.) In its early stages this sculpture used a very small number of almost standard types of gods and of heroes in human form—or rather of idealized human beings. (Pl. 14.) There were female figures standing or seated and clothed; naked male figures standing erect; men running or on horseback or wrestling; figures of Hermes or Silenus, together with Centaurs, sphinxes, lions, and winged victories. Over many generations artists repeated these types and improved on their conception, their proportions, their anatomy, movement, and drapery, until complete excellence was achieved. Even when imitating foreign models Greek artists were able to assimilate and transform them, thinking them out anew: naturalism was confined to certain portions of their work; the rest was idealized. Among foreign influences the most obvious is the statuary of Egypt, knowledge of which came through the colonies and mercenaries settled in the Nile delta: it is particularly evident in their hair style, the pose of hands, and the advance of the left foot. But other influences, resulting from increasing trade relations, came from Cyprus, Syria, and Anatolia. These were responsible for the complexity of types found in the 'Orientalizing' Art of the seventh century.

Beyond doubt archaic Greek sculpture had many centres, but two basic genres can be discovered: the two schools seem to correspond to two different ideals of life. One predominated in Dorian countries, such as the Peloponnese, Crete, and Rhodes; the other in the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor. We can see the difference in statues both draped and nude, and also in architectural and funerary reliefs.

The former school, attested by finds at Sparta, Sicyon, Argos, Delphi, Corcyra, and other places, was engaged in representing, with increasing

success, the spiritual qualities of humanity in a form that was grave, harmonious, and serene. Their statues were forceful but heavy; and though they made continual advances in technique and ideas, they always retained an archaic outlook, which is shown in the rigidity of their figures and in the simple flat surfaces of their draperies. Examples are the colossal, diademed, head of Hera found at Olympia, and the series of metopes at Selinus. (Pl. 15.) The latter are of increasing excellence as time goes on, the earliest ones being parts of a shrine, the others belonging to temples C. and F. and to the monuments associated with them.

The second school, the Ionic, produced representations of a more varied and gayer though more artificial type of beauty. It attached importance to ornamentation—to hair style, delicate pleating of dress, sinuous lines, elegance and affectation in the representation of detail and movement, and charm of expression in the face. Examples are the seated statues of divinities adorning the road from Didyma to Miletus (first half of sixth century), the Apollo of Tenea, the Naxian sphinx (mid-sixth century), the Moscophorus of Rhombos (an ex-voto of the late sixth century), and the Nikē of Delos. (Pl. 16, a.) Among reliefs may be mentioned a sepulchral *stele* now at the Villa Albani at Rome (c. 550), and the pediment and eastern frieze of the Siphnians' treasury at Delphi.

At Athens we find some kind of fusion between the canons of the two schools. The firm bodies and nobility of aspect found in Athenian statues was often combined with delicacy of drapery and other details; and important examples of the result can be seen in the seventy or so votive statues painted with many colours which have been found on the Acropolis, depicting Korai. (Pl. 16, b.) Among reliefs of this Attic type we may mention the coloured 'Typhon' group, a work of the mid-sixth century which belonged to the pediment of the Hecatompedon at Athens.

These various styles were reflected in the cutting of gems and on archaic coins, both of which help us to understand the tastes of the different regions of Greece and the technique which prevailed in each. (Pl. 2.)

i. *Italic Civilization. Originality of Etruscan Art*

In the last centuries of the Bronze Age and the first of the Iron Age (the transition must have occurred about the tenth century BC) a number of foreign styles and techniques were imported into Italy. The first were Mycenaean, derived from the objects traded by Greek merchants with the natives as far west as Ischia, or manufactured in their new homes by the pioneers of Greek colonization in Italy, that is to say by the people of Tarentum. Later there arrived Geometric wares, brought to Italy by Illyrian immigrants who settled on the Adriatic and Ionian coasts, or by Greeks reinforcing their colonizing movement into Italy and Sicily. The latter embellished and established more firmly the Geometric style they had brought from their various and distant homes.

When iron became known it of course did not eclipse the use of bronze, especially in early days when bronze was still valued highly enough to be used for inlays. Indeed the new iron hammers and anvils made it possible to construct bronze in sheets and to work reliefs on bronze armour, vessels, and ornaments.

From this large number of centres the radiation of Greek civilization was increasing all the time. First there were the colonies and their offshoots, spreading over south Italy and Sicily; then came the extension of the great network of Phocaean trade, with the stations planted on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts as far as the Gulf of Lions, and on the east coast of Spain. Moreover in the course of the seventh century Carthaginian trade was beginning, and they too imported foreign wares. As we have already explained, this whole process started the 'Orientalizing' period in the art of many Italian coastal districts.

The people who profited earliest and most intensively from these foreign borrowings were that portion of the Etruscans who had crossed the Apennines about 1000 BC and had gradually occupied Tuscany, from which they proceeded to extend their empire southwards as far as the territory of Salerno. In the marshy country of the Po valley this section of proto-Etruscans had, in the opinion of the present author, been compelled to build the lake stations (*palafitte*) and later the *terramare*. But when they left this country and its floods behind them and settled in the hilly lands of Tuscany, they gave up the laborious building systems of their past history: all they retained were the defensive terraces and (where possible) the regular and rectangular lay-out of their roads. Meanwhile, even before they came under direct influence from Greek and Oriental cultures, they were able to show their skill and artistic sense by originating their own types of architecture. The lines they marked out for themselves here were spontaneous, and Greek influence intervened only in the later stages. Graves gave place to funeral vaults, earth-mounds of the *terramare* kind to the earliest city-walls, and the regular plans of the *terramare* settlements to cities with a *cardo* and *decumanus*; instead too of the crude spherical vases used as ossuaries we find the two-horned Villanovan cups, the 'canopi' of Chiusi (vases shaped in human form), and eventually the 'busta' made from sheeted bronze.

In the process of civilizing Italy the importance of the Etruscans was quite fundamental, on account both of their own virtues and also of the things which they absorbed from Greek culture and then passed on to other people. Etruscan civilization was far from being a pale copy of Hellenic, and there was no systematic borrowing; moreover we cannot simply credit Greek residents with all the manufactured objects found in Etruria which reveal any deep or original artistic quality. If Etruria over the course of centuries was capable of this wide, profound, and continuous assimilation of Greek art and myths, and later of Greek literature and techniques—to the point at which indigenous and imported ideas became blended into a single whole, the latter being

given a new life and, in the archaic age at least, sometimes actually surpassing the excellence they had attained in their previous homes—all this implies that the Etruscan and Greek peoples were exceedingly amenable one to the other. It is true that the Etruscan products known to us, which are generally industrial goods manufactured for private use, are often inferior to Greek products, which not infrequently are solemn dedications made by cities. Yet the Etruscan works have their own individuality; and whole departments of artistic production can be regarded as the creation of the Etruscan mind, seeing that for these types no foreign models were in existence. Furthermore the variation between the art of different districts, which had no political unity, is an obvious proof of Etruscan independence.

Cities, Houses, Tombs, and Temples. When the Etruscans came down into Tuscany, they lived mainly either in small rural centres which consisted of an assembly of huts and cottages, or alternatively in dwellings scattered over the agricultural areas. These were accompanied by a few *oppida* in strong positions, which served as refuges in time of need. Only later, when some centres acquired political domination over others, and when 'Lucumones'¹⁴ were formed and started their series of feuds, did some of these *oppida* obtain decisive supremacy. In later times the need was felt to give these Lucumones stronger centres, which had therefore to receive regular fortifications: the reason was still foreign dangers, the Gauls advancing in the north, and in the south the anti-Etruscan reaction by the Italici. It was then, for example, that on the hills opposite the older city in the plain of modern Florence was built the fortification of Faesulae. In those *oppida* the contours of the country did not of course allow, at Populonia for instance, any wholesale application of the normal Etruscan plan of regular streets, in the way in which it became possible to adapt it in the fifth century at Marzabotto. To defend relatively low-lying centres use had to be made of terraces or earthworks like those in the villages of ancient Rome; but on higher sites the earliest defences consisted simply of the folds in the ground, whether tufa or rock, with some artificial improvement, of the kind found at Orvieto, Chiusi, Veii, and Falerii. Only later, from the sixth century onwards, were stone walls erected on the Greek model, as at Volaterrae, Faesulae, Saturnia, Perugia, or brick walls as at Arretium. The skill of the Etruscans as builders and hydraulic engineers can also be seen in their construction of roads, bridges, cuttings in the hill country, and drainage works in the plain, the last being accompanied by canals or underground tunnels (*cunicoli*).

Such Etruscan houses as have been found in excavation were generally small and simple. They often contained only one room, and differed little from the original Villanovan huts, which were constructed in wood or unbaked bricks, or were wattled with a covering of clay. They got quickly destroyed, but their shapes are reproduced for future generations in the funerary urns of the so-called 'Hut' type. (Pl. 17, a.) More considerable and complex dwellings are

also known to us from vase paintings, from tombs with several rooms which are modelled on the houses of the living, and also from notices in Greek writings. The Greeks derived their word 'Tursenoi' from the solidity and strength of the Etruscan 'turseis'. Roman writers regarded their own type of house as being of Etruscan origin, the house with an *atrium* (a non-Latin word) and *tablinum*, in which a partly covered court, with a roof sloping forwards and backwards, gave access to one or more rooms. From this evidence it is clear that the more important Etruscan houses became fairly complicated as time went on, and that they were of a regular type. Of the *atrium* archaeologists give various explanations: some derive it from the primitive hut round which habitable rooms were added, others from the *megaron* of the Graeco-Mycenaean house, others think it was the *tablinum* which originated from the hut and that the *atrium* was the surrounding enclosure.

The same progressive development which is evident in their types of dwellings can be demonstrated in their tombs, which are found in clusters or else in great cemeteries outside the inhabited centres. The earliest cemeteries after the Etruscan descent into Tuscany contain cremation and inhumation graves side by side with identical kinds of furnishing: this undoubtedly resulted from the association of the cremation traditionally practised by the Villanovan Etruscans with the inhumation of the pre-existing inhabitants of the country. These inhabitants were now absorbed by the newcomers, who to some extent adopted their rites. The two systems continued and became amalgamated, so that we cannot with any precision attribute the inhumation graves with their rectangular ditches to the natives and the circular pits always to the Etruscans. New features were then added to these early types, and gradually there evolved those monumental tombs which are found from later periods, with a quadrilateral base and either a sham ogival vault or dome (*tholos*), or a flat roof sometimes with undulating surface. Both types, whether built inside an artificial *tumulus* or cut as underground chambers in the rock or tufa, could be of very large dimensions (one *tumulus* at Populonia is nearly 90 ft in diameter) and extremely complex, with secondary rooms or cells adjoining the main one. The François tomb at Vulci has seven cells and an *atrium*; and other examples are the Isis tomb (also at Vulci), the Campana tomb at Veii, the tomb of the 'seven seats' at Caere (with three parallel naves and an *atrium*), and the tomb of the Volumnii at Perugia. At the same time the construction work was being ornamented with ceilings, pilasters, columns, reliefs, inlay, and painting; and some Streets of the Dead had carefully aligned façades, with attention paid to the exterior architecture.

These pseudo-arches and sham vaults or cupolas were primitive shapes invented by the Etruscans in the course of their experiments in slantwise building, which involved them in placing blocks on top of one another, each projecting farther than the last. From these beginnings they attained in relatively late times to the construction of genuine arches and regular wedge

vaulting. Moreover these successive forms of architecture spread outside Etruria, particularly into Latium: Rome was the main area where they were assimilated and improved.

In its earliest phases the Etruscan temple was affected by Greek influences: later it preserved its archaizing style. Down to late times it was built mainly of timber and terracotta. The plinths were normally stone, the room-walls of brick, but the frequent columns, with the ceilings and roof, were of wood. But the interior walls, roof, and gutters (these were narrow at first but were later given very broad dimensions) were still covered with tiles and tablets; they were also ornamented with coloured terracotta antefixes. There was generally a façade at one end only, the wall at the opposite end being closed; and the triangular pediment commonly remained open, unadorned with statues or reliefs. Temples originally had a long and a short side: but both in temples with a single *cella*, and in those with three *cellae* for the divine triads, the length in later times was generally little greater than the breadth. Of the tripartite type remains have been found at Marzabotto, Florence, Fiesole, Orvieto, and Civita Castellana in Etruria, and at Rome, Segni, and other places in the parts of Latium where the Etruscans once ruled. Vitruvius (*archit.*, IV, 77) tells us of the normal proportions of an Etruscan temple, but he is undoubtedly dealing with a fourth-century example rather than with one from the early days of the fifth.

Sculpture and Painting. The earliest Etruscan sculptors were excellent moulders and carvers who made use of both clay and bronze. Varro (in Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 157) speaks of a famous sculptor of Veii called Vulca, the author of terracotta statues of Jupiter Capitolinus and Hercules which were erected at Rome; and Plutarch records a clay chariot executed by this artist, placed on top of the Capitoline temple. Archaeological finds have shown the skill possessed by these moulders of clay in various districts and periods, beginning from their very first efforts in the craft. Examples are the group which ornaments a Geometric vase from Montescudaio near Volaterrae, the tablets and antefixes provided as temple decorations (Pl. 18, b), and the so-called *canopi* from Chiusi: these last were originally cinerary urns, but the lids were then fashioned as human heads and the handles as human arms, and they became regular statues depicting the dead men whose ashes they contained. But the most perfect examples of this moulding in clay are the sixth-century statues of gods, Apollo and others, found at Vulca's home town of Veii, and forming part of a group of statuary of which other fragments survive. Comparable are the coloured sixth-century sarcophagi from Caere (Pl. 19), with a dead man and his wife lying banqueting at a table as on their funeral bier; note also the coloured pottery decoration from a temple at Falerii.

Equal skill and progress was manifested by Etruscan sculptors who used bronze with various techniques of casting, relief moulding, and incision, the

earliest examples being crude bronze-cast statuettes like those found at Broglio. The small Etruscan bronzes (*Tyrrhena sigilla*) used to ornament houses and tombs were famous in all ages: they included statuettes (Pl. 17, b), candelabra, lamp-stands, tripods, vases, mirrors, armour, and parts of war-chariots. We also however possess some great examples from the archaic period, such as the Capitoline She-Wolf (late sixth century), a bust of a woman from Vulci, and a number of 'canopi' from Chiusi.

For works which required no particular polish or elaboration of plastic detail the Etruscan sculptors learned to use alabaster, sandstone, and volcanic stone from their own country ('nenfro' and 'pietra fetida'). In various periods all these materials were used to carve urns, busts, reliefs on *stelae* and cippi, sphinxes, and figured sarcophagi.

In all this plastic work there is no denying the influence of Greek art, which was recognized in ancient times (Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 152). It is evident in the models, the style, the myths which were represented, and the treatment of the drapery. Yet it is clear that Etruscan artists also introduced new systems, such as those used for their great statuary in clay; and that new styles of an exclusively native kind were exhibited in their realistic treatment of the face and other details of the body. Their liking for portrait busts, and their skill in constructing them, can be seen from examples which are older than any coming from Greek countries, such as (once more) the *canopi* of Chiusi, and a seventh-century statuette found at Montalto di Castro. Both finds and tradition (Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 34) show the liking which the cities of Etruria, especially those in the south, had for plastic work. The Etruscan people also had a marked fondness for all small artistic objects of a light-hearted kind—such as gold jewellery, incised or carved ivories, inlay in metal, painted vases, or pottery modelled in imitation of bronzework with the black translucent colour of bronze (the *buccheri* vases). (Pl. 18, a.) The tombs and houses of Etruria, above all in the Orientalizing period, were consequently full of *objets d'art* of native and foreign manufacture, the imported goods coming through Greek (especially Phocaeen) and Punic merchants.

These vases, plates, and coloured statues in clay, together with the tempera frescoes in tombs, make it possible to trace the gradual development of archaic Etruscan painting and to compare it with that of the painted objects imported from the Italiote colonies and from the Greek East.

Etruscan pottery was originally of the Villanovan Geometric type, made by the methods the invaders brought from the Po valley. But gradually a change set in, especially in the southern districts, as the Etruscans became familiar with the Greek wares imported from Magna Graecia, and later with those which originated from a wider range of Greek lands and were brought by Phocaeen traders. Indeed Etruria, especially its seaboard and southern portions, was inundated with painted imported pottery, not only Italian Geometric from Magna Graecia, but Chalcidian, Ionian, Rhodian, Cretan, Cypriot, Corinthian, Laconico-Cyrenaic, and finally Attic (Pl. 11, b). These

imports later inspired a whole range of local imitations, cheap on the whole, but not devoid of originality in type as well as in decoration. Yet all the while the native production of *buccheri* still went on.

In the period of hybrid and Orientalizing art, which coincided with the high watermark of Phocæan trade at the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries, we also find in Etruria the familiar pottery plates painted in vivid reds, blacks, browns, and yellows against a white ground. These depict sphinxes, and also scenes in this and the next world, with groups of figures engaged in discussion, procession, sacrifice, taking auspices, and many other activities. The subjects chosen attest not only Greek influence but also the Etruscan fondness for reproducing native usages, rites, cults, and dress, together with realistic faces and expressions.

Another feature of the Orientalizing period is the appearance, in Etruria south of Chiusi, of tomb-paintings in extremely vivid colours, designed to relieve the gloom of the tomb. Their excellence is clear testimony, *a fortiori*, to what must have been the fineness and power of Etruscan painting on houses and temples, which were both executed and looked at in reasonable light. These paintings were mainly in tempera, but were sometimes frescoes or painted directly on the tufa: in early days only a few colours were employed. They represent, in increasingly realistic and decisive manner, scenes of hunting and fishing, athletic and gladiatorial contests, banquets, chariot races, jugglers, funerals, and scenes of domestic life and of life in the next world. Gaudy and luxurious dresses are depicted with minute attention; the colouring is vivid; there is alert realism over pictures of animals and flowers; and a seeking after elegance is everywhere obvious. This all betokens artists with strong personality, even though they increasingly show the influence of the various techniques and types found in Greek painting with each of which they gradually became familiar.

j. The Features of Latin Civilization—Creation of a Triple Koiné

Rome lay at the centre of many peoples in cultural ferment, on the banks of a large navigable river, and on lines of communication between Etruria and Campania (the most civilized districts of proto-historic Italy); in its own territory too there was trade in early times. From the first, therefore, its civilization and art were of a mixed type, its own tendencies being blended with those which came from abroad; what it imported was given a Roman colouring, the new style then spreading to more backward populations outside. The story of the rough manners and semi-barbarism of Rome in the Regal period, found sometimes in ancient writers, is pure legend; and equally legend, though this time semi-erudite, is the view of certain modern scholars, who deny the Romans any instinct or capacity for art, regarding them as slavish imitators from the start. The truth is rather that Rome, whose population was continually being swollen by the incorporation of other peoples it had conquered, drew from early times on a number of

different components of culture, but recreated them and gave them continuous and spontaneous evolution in accordance with its own conception of civilization.

The evidence from Roman and Latian cemeteries show the complexity which underlay the culture of Latium from the earliest historical period. We can clearly see the persistence of features going back to the First Italici, who had lived in the country from the end of the Copper Age: inhumation is one example, and the shapes, decoration, and general conception of Latin tombs are another. At the beginning of the Iron Age we find new features added, some brought by the Second Italici who filtered into the region (e.g. cremation, and instruments like trays, knives, and brooches, which had been used by the *terramaricoli*), others due to the first Roman contacts with the Etruscans (the use of defensive ramparts and palisades, and the concepts of the *pomerium* and the sacrificial *mundus*).

This complexity never grew less: it was actually enhanced by the events of the seventh and sixth centuries BC. The historical explanation of the magnificent cultural *koiné* which can be found over the whole area from southern Etruria to Campania is intricate. The causes include the Etruscan dominion, chaotic and interrupted though it was, over Rome, Latium, and part of Campania; for about a century (c. 630–540) there was keen trade with the Phocaeans, who frequented the coasts of Latium and settled a number of craftsmen there; meanwhile the Chalcidians of Cumae kept up their commercial contacts, and the Romans were beginning to take to the sea. For more than a century the three races, Italic, Etruscan, and Greek, were living together in daily contact. They reacted one upon another, and in the whole of this vast area they created a superior form of civilization which to outward appearance was fairly homogeneous. The fusion of its elements was harmonious, though it remained a hybrid culture on account of its three-fold racial origin. For the moment we can confine ourselves to the phenomenon as it was presented in Latium, at Rome, Praeneste, Aricia, and similar towns. In the second Regal period Rome was given stone walls like the early or contemporary walls built on the Greek model in a number of cities of Etruria; the flow of water in the lower parts of the city was controlled by the construction of drains (e.g. the *cloaca maxima*); and the engineering efficiency of the Etruscan princes was shown in the drainage of entire areas in the plain of Latium, by means of underground tunnels. This was the period when the Carcer Mamertinus was built, with its original duty of constituting a water reserve; and tripartite temples with three *cellae*, on the Etruscan model, were erected first on the Quirinal and then on the Capitol. For these last buildings we are told by tradition that Tarquinius Superbus caused a number of artists and workmen to come to Rome; and it was from this period that artisans in the city became numerous, and were organized into colleges.

The earliest substantial buildings in wood and stone, temples, offices of magistrates (*regia*, *curia*, etc.) and the like, were frequently in this period

embellished with mural ornament and with decoration in clay (Pl. 18, b); and this was directly due to Etruscan influence. Archaeological confirmation comes from the Capitoline temple and from other temples on the Esquiline and Palatine, while Pliny speaks of the well-known Veientine artist Vulca who beyond doubt drew his ultimate inspiration from Greek statuary (Pl. 20.).

According to Varro, archaic Roman statuary started in the time of Servius Tullius, and examples are found in succeeding centuries, including a statue in the Forum Boarium which is supposed to represent that king. There were also a statue of Diana from her temple on the Aventine, allegedly of Ephesian or Massiliote type, which was probably imported by the Phocaeans; statues of Juppiter Capitolinus and of Hercules, of which Vulca of Veii was supposed to be the author; and (probably of the same period) the statues which were said to represent Horatius Cocles and Cloelia. We still possess clay fragments such as the friezes in the Boston Museum; also the famous Capitoline She-Wolf; and a number of smaller statuettes, like the one depicting a king which was found in the Forum.

The *chefs d'œuvres* of the Orientalizing period are works of jewellery, bronze and ivory carving, and vases. They were the result of collaboration between Greek, Etruscan, and Italic artists and of the availability of models drawn from every country in the Mediterranean, mainly those in Greece and the Orient. Examples have been found in the country round Caere, once proto-Latin but now Etruscan; in purely Etruscan cemeteries such as Tarquinia, Vulci, Vetulonia, and Marsigliana; in the Latin town of Praeneste, which by now was also ruled by Etruscan princes; and finally in Greek Cumae. The most magnificent works from this composite artistic school were spread over Latium in the houses of the more powerful families, and in the tombs of the *primores*; meanwhile the lower classes continued to use instruments made of less costly material, mainly modelled on local types. Yet even behind this less important work we can see to some extent the influence of eastern models; clay objects, for instance, imitated luxury ware in metal; and local pottery copied Greek.

From Latium we possess no great mural paintings like the late seventh- and sixth-century murals found in southern Etruscan tombs. Yet in Pliny's day (*N.H.*, XXXV, 17) it seems that paintings of this kind were preserved not only in Etruscan Caere, but also at Ardea and Lanuvium. Quintilian (*Inst.*, I, 4, 16) copied the names inscribed on them in ancient writing; and if we trust his evidence, they depicted the same Greek mythological scenes which the import of painted Greek pottery had already made familiar in Etruria and Latium. In any case we are told that actual Hellenic painters had provided examples of their work in Etruria, like the Damophilus and Gorgasus who (according to Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 154) decorated the temple of Ceres at Rome.

3. MUSIC

From primitive times man felt the need of song to amplify the sounds he made under the influence of emotion, and to give them emphasis and exaltation. He also wanted to accentuate the rhythm of other activities, such as the march and the dance, with sounds produced by clapping the hands or by playing instruments of a fairly rudimentary nature: these instruments were probably 'invented' independently by various peoples, that is to say through polygenesis. Men were led to create them empirically by the noises they obtained, sometimes quite casually, through percussion, or shaking, or quick rotary movement, or rubbing, or plucking at resonant and vibrant objects, or blowing at reeds and similar hollow tubes. Vibration caused by pressure gave rise to hurdy-gurdies, cymbals, castanets, and the like; percussion on resonant sticks or hollow tree-trunks or tablets or taut membranes led to the various kinds of xylophone and to drums or timpani; rapid rotation in the air made people invent peals of bells, sirens, and their variants; the emission of sounds by shaking suggested the sistrum and the rattle; the simplest methods of friction (on notched sticks or toothed bows or 'clappers') produced instruments consisting of taut, sounding strings to which a bow was applied; and the plucking of reeds or bark or similar substances led to the various instruments based on the plectrum (the zither, guitar, harp, and so on).

At the same time wind instruments were invented and developed. Some required continuous blowing on one or more reeds, which could be open or closed, and which might or might not have holes to be shut down with the finger. On others the blowing was intermittent, the sound being obtained by the vibration either of the mouthpiece (as with horns or trumpets) or again of some type of reed (as with the oboe, the Greek *aulos*, or the like).

The execution of music, both singing and instrumental playing, was originally free and spontaneous, whether it was carried out individually or collectively. But it began to be controlled and to follow a regular form when performances began to take place on relatively solemn occasions before an audience, as at sacred ceremonies or at funerals or on the field of battle. Eventually it acquired traditional and 'scholastic' rules.

In varying degree we have certain types of evidence for music among ancient peoples. There are monuments figuring scenes of singers, dancers, and players; some ancient musical instruments have survived; there are allusions in literature; and sometimes there are even musical scores in the poetic texts as they have been transmitted to us.

India. Nothing is known of early Indian music, except in so far as it was connected with the Vedic sacrifice. The Vedic hymns (*sāman* from the musical point of view) were sung or chanted according to fixed rules, which formed the object of a special manual, the *Rgprātisākhya*. The tradition of

Vedic chanting has lasted down to these days, more or less faithfully preserved. Four song-books (*Gāna*) are employed for study or practice. They are technical works of very late age, connected with the *Samaveda*. They give the Vedic texts in their chanted form, i.e., with the insertion of additional syllables or whole words (*stobha*), mostly meaningless and intended to make the verses agree rhythmically with the melody. Musical notation is of a primitive kind. On this basis a reconstruction of Vedic hymn-singing of 3,000 years ago has been attempted; but of course this contains an all-too-strong element of surmise and hypothesis.

Egypt. On monuments showing processions, retinues, and armies on the march both singers and players are represented. Of the latter some have vertical flutes with as many as eleven stops, and sometimes double flutes; others have harps, with up to twenty strings; others have lyres, drums, or rattles.

Assyria preserved and improved the types of musical activity which had been current in the Middle East since Sumerian times. Here too monuments show scenes of singers and musicians taking part in temple rites, funeral ceremonies, processions, and military operations. The instruments are generally either harps, lyres, and lutes; or double flutes and trumpets; or tambourines, timpani, and cymbals.

For the *Hebrews* we have the evidence of the Bible showing that music was used to accompany songs, both individual lyrics and choral chants, at consecration ceremonies and at public addresses. We also find it used in the recital of the sacred prose writings, which were intoned against the background of melodious compositions following prescribed rules. The Hebrews therefore used both wind instruments such as the horn and also strings (the guitar, lyre, and harp) to accompany their choral songs, for which the Temple employed extensive choirs.

In the *Greek world* monuments as early as the Mycenaean age attest the presence of singers and the use of musical instruments—the sistrum, the zither, and the flute. Zithers, which perhaps derived from Egypt or Asia Minor, were of various kinds, their size, shape, and the number of strings (from seven to eleven) depending on the nature of the piece to be played. Among wind instruments the *aulos* or oboe (made of wood, bone, or metal) had various ranges of pitch (known as *parthenoi*, *paidikoi*, *teleioi*, and *hyper-teleioi*); and the double flute, played with both hands, had one reed for the song and the other for its accompaniment (*krousis*). Sometimes use was made of the horizontal flute. The ancient *syrinx*, the shepherd's pipe, had between seven and nine reeds of the same length but of different diameters; but when used for artistic music it developed into an instrument in which the lengths of reed and their diameters were both different. Trumpets were of various proportions and had various depths of tone. Percussion instruments included wooden rattles (castanets), cymbals of various sizes, and timpani.

From Mycenaean times there were two distinct types of musical accompaniment for poetry. One became especially popular in Ionia, and was used in the solo recital or declamation of epic verse. The sound came from the lyre (*phorminx*), which was for the most part played by the singer himself; and the same technique was later employed in reciting didactic ('Hesiodic') poetry, and also elegy and iambus. The other type of accompaniment was used to provide the tune for lyric poetry, both in solo recitals and in choral performances.

The *Iliad* has many references to music, for instance to the singing of paeans (*I*, 472; XXII, 391). Moreover in the Eighteenth Book, describing the scenes on the shield made by Hephaestus, the poet tells of the dances, songs, and notes from *auloi* and *phorminges* which accompanied a wedding. There are the shepherds playing the *syrinx*, the maidens singing to the sound of the lute, the harvesters dancing and yelling, and a piazza where young men and girls do their dance.

In later times recitation of poetry was accompanied less and less by music, and eventually without it altogether. But lyric accompaniments grew in importance and became increasingly varied. On the one hand we find musical 'arias', purely instrumental pieces without any singing: these were sometimes for the pipe and sometimes for strings, one example being the *nomoi* addressed to the gods at public ceremonies. On the other hand there were *nomoi* on both pipe and string with liturgical song to accompany them. Clonas was renowned for *nomoi* on the pipe, the 'aulodic' genre, and Terpander of Lesbos for the 'citharodic' *nomos*. The sections of the liturgical hymn grew in number from three to seven.

It was in Lesbos too that the personal lyric reached its zenith, with wide variety of rhythm, metre, and strophes: the musical accompaniment was executed on instruments with as many as twenty strings (on the *barbitos*, *magadis*, or *pectis*), which enabled extremely low and extremely high notes to be played. In the work of Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon this musical element, so far as we can judge, corresponded precisely to the sung verses, with their marvellous use of varied metre and rhythm, but eventually it was the music which gained the upper hand (see pp. 277 f.).

At the same time in Dorian lands the choral song was revived to express lyric sentiments, both for solo voices and for choirs. It was performed in dialogue by young men and girls, by athletes and dancers, and at weddings, in the strophic arrangement characteristic of Alcman. Dithyrambs too were composed, in honour of the gods, with dance and song alternating between the poet and his choirs, all to the sound of the flute: the works of Arion and Lasus are notable examples. Then there were choral songs of a type midway between epic and lyric, accompanied by the sound of the zither, such as Stesichorus I composed; and lastly Ibycus' choral hymns of praise, and the works of Simonides of Ceos written in honour of victories in war and at the games.

Meanwhile Pythagoras and his pupils worked at the study of acoustics and mathematics in relation to music. We need say no more here than that they enunciated the relation between musical intervals and the length of strings.

Monuments show how the Etruscans too were devoted to music and dancing and how they made use of both on public occasions, at games, and at funerals. The instruments in most common use were the lyre, the flute, and the *subulus* (or double flute), the bronze trumpet with curving mouthpiece (*lituus*), and the circular horn. We do not know what their musical compositions were like, but they must have drawn heavily upon Greek models. In execution we can see from monuments that it was common practice to let two players accompany each other, one on strings and one on the double flute.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. The two books of Samuel are sometimes described as *Kings* I and II, with the two books of *Kings* becoming III and IV.
2. The song of Deborah, like the song in *Exodus* xv, was almost certainly composed in the second millennium B.C.
3. Allusions in Greek art show that many of these legends had developed as early as the eighth century B.C.
4. The Hymn to Demeter is certainly seventh century or earlier, the Hymn to Pan is probably fifth century at the earliest, and the Hymn to Dionysus may be a work of the fourth century or later.
5. In this work the tale of each woman began with the words ἢ οἷη ('or like her who').
6. Line 22 of the *Theogony* mentions the name Hesiod as that of a poet already well known. But many scholars take this to be Hesiod's way of signing his authorship of the poem.
7. There is no decisive evidence about Hesiod's date but Professor Pareti brings him distinctly later than do most modern scholars. Herodotus indeed (II, 53) put Hesiod (with Homer) into the ninth century, and this date was supported, with ingenious argument, by T. W. Allen, *Homer, Origins and Transmission* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 78 ff. More probable seems a late eighth-century date, for Hesiod tells us (*Works and Days*, pp. 654 ff.) that he attended the funeral games of King Amphidamas of Chalcis, who fought in the 'Lelantine War', probably c. 705 B.C. Professor Pareti may be too sceptical about the stories of Hesiod's life, about which the poet tells us quite a bit; and it is surely certain that his father migrated to Boeotia from Aeolic Cumae (*Works and Days*, 635-6).
8. The traditional date for Mimnermus' *floruit* is 630 B.C., and many scholars suppose the eclipse to be that of 648 B.C. Among Mimnermus' themes was the war between Smyrna and Gyges, in the first half of the seventh century, though this, like his account of the founding of Smyrna from his native Colophon, may relate to generations earlier than his own.
9. Here Professor Pareti follows once more the chronology propounded by K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I, 2 (2nd edition, Strassburg, 1912), pp. 314 ff., pp. 357 ff. A passage in Herodotus (V, 94) appears to associate Alcaeus both with the Corinthian tyrant Periander (whose reign is traditionally dated 625-585) and with a son of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus (this son being born of a marriage contracted after 560). Beloch tried to solve this and other difficulties by dating the Corinthian tyrants at least a generation later than does the tradition, by extending the lives of the Lesbian poets, and by redating various other events in the sixth century. Recent scholars have usually felt that his chronology

creates more problems than it solves. For a discussion of the Lesbian evidence, which in other respects is self-consistent on the whole and puts the *floruit* of Alcaeus and Sappho c. 610–580, see D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), esp. pp. 149 ff.

10. Apart from the long life generally ascribed to Alcman, there is no strong evidence for this view. See D. L. Page, *Alcman, the Partheneion* (Oxford, 1951), p. 164.
11. This solution was first propounded by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 233 ff. For counter-arguments see C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 77 ff.
12. See Volume I, Part 2, p. 411, note 37.
13. This period of Greek painting, especially on Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery, has great fascination. The 'Orientalizing' artists produced a riot of decoration, in which the motifs were sometimes fanciful (griffins, lions, and other monsters) and sometimes realistic (lines of hoplites, real animals, or flowers), all accompanied by daring experiments in outline drawing, colour, and incision. It is interesting to find a fairly constant time-lag between the manifestations of this art in mainland Greece and the periods of its models: it seems likely that Rhodian and other East Greek intermediaries stood between the Eastern origins and the great artists of Corinth. For a brief but vivid description see A. R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece* (London, 1960), pp. 61–2, pp. 85–7.
14. These were the kings of the cities which were gradually established in Etruria. Lars Porsenna of Clusium, who captured Rome for a short time after the expulsion of the Tarquins, is the most familiar example.

